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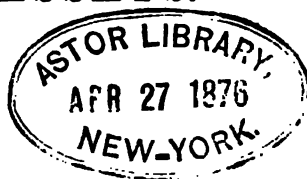
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ETHNOLOGICAL

AND

PHILOLOGICAL ESSAYS.



BY

JAMES KENNEDY, Esq., LL.B.

LATE HER MAJESTY'S JUDGE IN THE MIXED COURT AT HAVANA.

- I. PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS.
- II. QUESTION OF THE SUPPOSED LOST TRIBES OF ISRAEL.
- III. THE ANCIENT LANGUAGES OF FRANCE AND SPAIN.

Aut nova aut novè.

LONDON:
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ON THE
PROBABLE ORIGIN
OF
THE AMERICAN INDIANS,
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THAT OF THE CARIBS.

BY JAMES KENNEDY, Esq.,
LATE H. B. M.'S JUDGE IN THE MIXED COURT AT HAVANA.

Read before the Ethnological Society the 15th March 1854.

BARON Von Humboldt, in his first work on New Spain (Book II. ch. 6.), has expressed an opinion, which I believe he has never since either retracted or modified, that "the general question of the first origin of the inhabitants of a continent is beyond the limits prescribed to history, and is not perhaps even a philosophical question." To this latter declaration, made by one so justly eminent in literature, I think it becomes our duty to demur, as members of a Society devoted to the study of that new and important science of Ethnology, which takes for its ground of philosophical investigation the origin and relationship of the inhabitants of every portion of the globe. In the pursuit of the inquiries we have in this study to institute, we certainly have often to proceed beyond the limits of history, and often to act independently of it, without, however, at any time conceding our claim to have those questions recognised as philosophical questions: for as we are told in law that circumstantial evidence is sometimes more trustworthy than positive testimony, so our inquiries may sometimes lead to results more satisfactory and convincing than the direct statements of authors, founded, as they often are, on uncertain traditions, or mistaken information. The only history on which we can confidently rely for the correctness of its statements, where a distinct record is given, is that one contained in the Holy Scriptures; and as the fullest investigations have only served to authenticate and verify their statements, the more we take them for our rule and

guidance, the more certain we may feel of our travelling in the right paths.

I venture to make these observations here primarily; 1st, as leading me directly to the arguments which I have to adduce in support of my theories; and 2dly, because the learned Baron, in another part of the same work,* and again in his last publication, "*Cosmos*," seems to countenance the ideas of some others, who have held that there were originally various distinct creations of beings of the human race, contrary to our faith that "God hath made of one blood all the nations upon earth." In the same chapter he says "Perhaps this race of copper-coloured men, comprehended under the general name of American Indians, is a mixture of Asiatic tribes, and the aborigines of this vast continent;" as if the two races were essentially distinct from each other, and as if the copper-coloured men, comprehended under the general name of American Indians, with all their mixtures, could not all of them have been only different migrations of Asiatic tribes, earlier or later arrived on the new continent.

In his last work, "*Cosmos*," Baron Von Humboldt expressly acknowledges the unity of the human species, but he seems at the same time to qualify this admission, by quoting approvingly a passage in the works of John Müller thus, "Whether the existing races of men are descended from one or from several primitive men is a question not determined by experience."

Supposing that the translations from which these quotations are taken have been correctly rendered, it is not clear why these writers require for experience on such matters, or philosophy itself; but whatever may be their views on the points, I proceed at once to the position I assume, that all experience we possess, and all the conclusions we can in reasoning deduce from it, only tend to prove the correctness of the account given us in the Mosaic history, taken merely as history.

From this history we learn that the world, after the flood, was peopled from one stock, diverging into three families.

* See Prichard's *Origin of the Celtic Nation*, page 2.

evidently typifying the three varieties into which we see mankind divided, of which families some one or more of the branches might naturally be expected to carry out their distinguishing characteristics more decidedly than the others, according to circumstances, and yet, at the same time, only form connecting links in a graduated chain which united them in one universal relationship. As the different branches of each family diverged proportionately from each other, they might thus be expected to extend further their peculiar characteristics, until at length the extremes of each would become necessarily the apparent opposites of the others. As in every day's experience in private families we see children of the same parents of very different complexions, so each of them might transmit the different shades to their descendants, until, in the great family of nations, we might expect to find one very fair, another extremely dark, and a third brown or copper-coloured, consistently with the fact of their common origin. In the three continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia, we find three great families of mankind so distinguishable, as white, black, and copper-coloured, with a variety of intermediate gradations, sometimes dependent upon local circumstances, sometimes consequent upon intermarriages, and yet, according to our hypothesis, all arising from natural causes. There are other writers however, who, taking up these differences as radically existing, contend that there are primarily five, or seven, or various greater numbers of races of man, which numbers indeed, if we allowed any real foundation for their suppositions, might be extended to the utmost limit. For thus they might, upon their assumptions, be entitled to divide, not only the dark, but also the white-complexioned people into different races, distinguished by the colour of their hair and eyes, and shades of complexion, which are variations as decided as those they point out among the darker-coloured branches of the human family, though we have become so familiar with those differences amongst ourselves, as to consider them of only minor importance, or of a cognate character.

When, however, we thus find writers of the greatest talents, who have made the human frame their peculiar study, not agreeing amongst themselves as to the conclusions to be drawn respect-

ing the physical history of our species, it may be fairly allowed to those who have not entered professionally into that study to assume, that if there is no certainty attainable in it from their speculations, then the origin of nations becomes a question more peculiarly for philologists to discuss. It is as a philologist therefore alone that I profess to enter upon it, following the course adopted by one of the most eminent in those inquiries, our late respected President, Dr. Prichard, in the belief that it is to the study of languages, after all, that we are to look for the most satisfactory elucidation of the question. It is by this means we may best hope to ascertain the affinities of nations, and, tracing the several families of mankind back to their sources, where the branches diverged from their parent stem, may obtain a full confirmation of the belief of their original unity.

In taking for consideration the subject of the probable origin of the American Indians, I trust that these preliminary observations may not be judged inapposite, when so many writers—as Professor Agassiz, Dr. Morton and others—directly, and so many—as Malte Brun, Humboldt, and others—indirectly, have advocated the doctrine of distinct races having been created, like the lower animals, suited peculiarly to particular climates and localities, and have, upon this assumption, assigned for those whom they call the aborigines of America a different origin and creation from the other branches of the human species. Treating of the subject historically, it would certainly have been a great omission to have passed by those theories without a notice, especially when it is the direct object of my arguments to shew the futility of such speculations by the evidence of facts.

But besides those theories founded upon scepticism under the guise of philosophy, there are others accounting for the origin of the American Indians, which can neither be passed over unnoticed, though we may assign no value to them to require any lengthened remark. The first to which I allude is, that the Indians of America were descendants of antediluvian inhabitants of the world, who were not comprehended in the general destruction of the deluge: the second, that there probably was, in some early period after the deluge

some great convulsion of nature, as in the days of Peleg, when some writers suppose the earth was divided into its present proportions, previously to which there were direct communications by land over the whole extent of the globe, either on the Atlantic or the Pacific side of the American continent, or both; so that the first ancestors of the American Indians could have reached those shores without any obstacle intervening of an ocean to be crossed over.

The first of these theories may scarcely be thought requiring an answer, though it may receive one as involved in that which the second certainly has reason to claim. To this second theory, then, of the American continent having been, at some early period, joined to the other continents by lands, over which animals as well as men had originally passed, it is alone that I direct a reply. That the world has been, at different periods, subjected to convulsions of sufficient extent to break up any connecting lands that might have formerly existed between Europe and America, or America and Asia, is indubitable from what we have recorded in history, as well as from geological deductions. With the exception, however, of Plato's myth respecting the island Atlantis—on which, notwithstanding the authorities that may be cited in its favour, I do not think any reliance can be placed, as it appears to me to admit of other satisfactory explanations—there is no record or tradition in any part of the world of such changes having been made since the deluge in those particular parts where the connecting lands can be supposed to have existed. If they ever did occur, it must have been at a very early period, which, indeed, is the supposition of those who advocate this theory, to account for the numerous population found by the Spaniards in America, divided into so many distinct nations, speaking entirely distinct languages. If we could not account for this state of the population in America by other more probable means consistent with the habits of man as a migratory being, then we might feel bound to assent to that theory, notwithstanding the absence of all historical authority in its favour. But when we can find facts of constant frequent recurrence, of men seeking voluntarily, or driven violently into new abodes, I think it would be extremely unwise to strain after a

fanciful solution of a question, which is of itself so easy of explanation otherwise.

Whether the deluge took place only at the period at which the common computations assign it, or from one to two thousand years earlier, as Dr. Hales and Bishop Russell have more correctly shewn it to have been, it appears to me clear, from all we can judge of the state in which the American Indians were found at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that they were then only of comparatively recent immigration, and neither from their numbers, nor from their political condition, likely to have been descendants of tribes or persons who had proceeded thither so long time back as before, or even some centuries after, the deluge. This is also the opinion of one of the best of the earlier writers on America, shortly after the conquest, Joseph Acosta, who visited the New World about fifty years after the discovery, and whose work was first published in 1586. He says, "*Qua etiam ex re magis adducor ut putem hunc novum orbem occidentalem non multis ab hinc annorum millibus habitatum.*" This his commentator, De Laet, understood to mean, that he did not think America had been then inhabited from more than one to two thousand years. "*Si recte mentem Acostæ capio, vult haud supra mille aut ad summum duo millia annorum Americam habitari cæpisse.*" To this opinion, however, De Laet dissents, on the ground of the vast population which America shewed at the time of the Spanish invasion, and of the great number of languages and nations into which that population was divided. But the amount of the population at that time was evidently exaggerated; and even if not exaggerated, was not inconsistent with a date of two thousand years back; while the variety of languages, traceable, as they no doubt might have been, into a few groups, as in the other continents, might have been fully explained by other causes into which we have hereafter to enter. Horn, and other writers on the origin of the American Indians, have been less opposed to the view of Acosta, which we should remember is the more worthy of admission, as he had passed so many years in the New World, and that so soon after the Spanish conquests as to give him decided advantages over the others. That his opinions were well founded we may feel

warranted in asserting, from every later consideration beyond the learned Jesuit's individual impressions. Since his time, many writers, and especially those who were natives of America, have looked on the remains of former inhabitants of that continent, found there, as if they were of incalculable antiquity, and the works of what they are pleased to call "mysterious races." Later researches have dispelled much of this illusion. Of the two semi-civilized empires of Mexico and Peru it was too evident, from their own traditions, given with a particularity which almost amounted to history, that they had no pretensions to an antiquity of more than a few centuries preceding the conquest. But there were other remains to which the authors to whom I refer loved to assign an immeasurable antiquity; 1st. The mound-like works on the eastern coasts of North America; 2dly, The larger mounds of the west, or the valley of the Mississippi; and, 3dly, The ruined cities of stone found in Yucatan and Central America. With regard to the first, Mr. Squier,* in his late excellent work on the "Antiquities of the State of New York" (Buffalo 1851), expressly says, "None of the ancient works of this State, of which traces remain displaying any considerable degree of regularity, can lay claim to high antiquity. All of them may be referred with certainty to the period succeeding the commencement of European intercourse" (p. 9). This fact he proves from the later investigations having uniformly found in them articles of European manufacture, which, being seldom, or very rarely, found in the mounds of the west, he seems to consider a proof of their greater antiquity. But as the works only vary in size, and not in character, the conclusion seems more reasonable, that the difference might be ascribed only to the circumstance of the one locality being more in communication with Europeans than the other. That the mounds of the west could not be of much greater antiquity than their cognate works of the State of New York may be deduced from another fact which Mr. Squier has

* Whose authority I feel great pleasure, from personal knowledge of the Author, in acknowledging as deserving of our entire acceptance.

pointed out with regard to them, though without perceiving the argument which may be deduced from it. At p. 302 of the same volume he says, "To understand clearly the nature of the works last mentioned, it should be remembered that the banks of the western rivers are always steep, and, where these works are located, invariably high. The banks of the various terraces are also steep, ranging from ten to thirty and more feet in height. *The rivers are constantly shifting their channels*, and frequently cut their way through all the intermediate up to the earliest-formed or highest terrace, presenting bold banks, inaccessibly steep, and from fifty to one hundred feet high. At such points, from which the river has in some instances receded to the distance of half a mile or more, works of this description are oftenest found." He goes on to say, "It is a fact of much importance, and worthy of special note, that within the scope of a pretty extended observation no work of any kind has been found occupying the latest-formed terrace. *This terrace alone, except at periods of extraordinary freshets, is subject to overflow.* The formation of each terrace constitutes a sort of semi-geological era in the history of the valley, and the fact that none of the works occur upon the lowest or latest-formed of these, while they are found indiscriminately upon all the others, bears directly upon the question of their antiquity."

From this clear statement of a fact of such important bearing on the question, it seems to me that a conclusion quite different from what the talented author would maintain is inevitable. The latest-formed terrace alone being subject to overflow would be a sufficient reason for the builders of those remarkable mounds to avoid erecting their works on them, whether erected for habitations or other purposes: therefore, if still found erected in their vicinity, and out of the reach of places subject to overflow, while the rivers are constantly shifting their channels, it is clear that they have been all erected while the country had the same general character as at present. They shew evidences of skilful design in the choice of places selected for erection; and the latest-formed terrace, therefore, must have existed when they were built, so that no great variation in the course of the rivers can be sup-

posed to have occurred since, though they are so constantly shifting their channels.

As to the character of the mounds themselves, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, it may be as well here at once to declare, that as there is nothing in them peculiar to America, so neither is there any type in them of antiquity. Dr. Beck, in his "*Gazetteer of the States of Illinois and Missouri* (p. 308), says, "One of the largest mounds in this country has been thrown up on this stream (the Wabash), within the last thirty or forty years, by the Osages, near the great Osage village, in honour of one of their deceased chiefs. This fact," he says, "proves conclusively the original object of these mounds, and refutes the theory that they must necessarily have been erected by a race of men more civilized than the present tribes of Indians. Were it necessary, numerous other facts might be adduced to prove that these mounds are no other than the tombs of their great men." Without assenting entirely to this last assertion, as Mr. Squier has satisfactorily shewn that some of the mounds must have been erected for other purposes, yet one such fact, recorded by so respectable an authority as the above, will be sufficient to dispel the idea of any mysteriousness hanging over their origin, or of that origin being of any very remote antiquity beyond that of their fellow mounds of the State of New York. Of the stone structures in Mexico, Yucatan, and Central America, neither can we predicate any very considerable antiquity. The buildings in course of erection at Mexico when the Spaniards first arrived there proved the date of all others of the same class in the country to be not far removed from that period; and though the Mexican traditions pointed to an earlier people, the Toltecs, yet they shew that these were only a cognate people, speaking the same language, possessing the same religious rites and civic characteristics, and only preceding them a short time in their migration. Even if the Mexican histories, therefore, are to be relied on, and the same remark applies to the Peruvian also, the era of their civilization, or pretensions to civilization, can only be referred, at the utmost, to a few centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards. The ruins in Yucatan and Central America I feel empowered to say, from

personal examination of some of them, may be ascribable to an earlier age and civilization than the Mexican; but at the same time I feel confident that they cannot be considered of higher antiquity than the remains we possess of Greek and Roman art, at the very utmost. Mr. Stephen, in his "Incidents of Travel," seems to have considered it a rare discovery that he had found a lintel of a door of wood, in a sound state, at Uxmal, to prove it of comparatively recent date; but I am able to say that it is of no rare occurrence, as I found not only wooden beams, but also laths, in a yet sound state, in several places, of different ruins in Yucatan.

On the whole, judging that the civilization to which these ruins in Yucatan and Central America owed their origin was a distinct one from that of the Mexicans and Peruvians, whose semi-civilization again was equally distinct from the state of society of the Indians to the north and south of their respective empires, it seems to me still equally certain that the various tribes found on the American continent had all arrived there many centuries after the other continents had been peopled, and only when those other continents had become fully peopled. The next question, then, for consideration of the subject I have undertaken, is, to ascertain whence those various tribes of American Indians had proceeded.

Before more fully entering on this inquiry, fearing I might be thought by some guilty of an omission if I were not to refer to an opinion held by a great number of writers, that the Indians were descendants of what they call the lost tribes of Israel, I feel compelled to notice it also. The number of writers who have maintained this opinion, or who have allowed it as probable, is so great as to be really astonishing. If they have any readers in the present day relying on their lucubrations as worthy of an answer, I will, in deference to them, go so far as to observe, 1st. That the ten tribes, as they are called, were never lost at all; and next, that if they were lost, as alleged, there cannot be any the slightest recognisable analogy shewn between the Jews and the Indians, in respect of either language, religious rites, political institutions, or physical characteristics. The absurdity is almost as great as that of another suggestion made on the subject,—that the

inhabitants and animals found in the New World had perhaps been carried over by angels,—so extraordinary are the devices to which some persons will have recourse to make marvels of very obvious and natural occurrences.

It would be an almost endless task to detail the various opinions which have been maintained, even by writers of acknowledged judgment and ability, respecting the peopling of America, with any attempt to canvass them minutely. I proceed to examine them as succinctly as the time during which I may trespass on the attention of the Society will admit.

Of the earliest writers on the subject, the greater number held that the progenitors of the American Indians had come over the snowy regions of the northern parts of the world, from Scythia or Tartary, which theory Grotius thought he had triumphantly overset, by remarking that the Scythians were pre-eminently a pastoral people, and had horses and herds of cattle, of which the Americans had no knowledge; whereupon he supposes that they had come over originally partly from Norway, and partly from Abyssinia. The latter supposition is such an extraordinary one, as to make us doubt what could be his meaning. If he intended all Africa, we cannot altogether admit the correctness of the opinion, nor yet of their having come from Norway, even if, under this name, we suppose him to intend all the north-western parts of Europe. That there were circumstances inducing numbers of the Scandinavians to seek new habitations in Iceland and elsewhere we admit; but we have neither authority nor reason to believe that any people analogous to the red or copper-coloured Indians ever inhabited that part of Europe. There might possibly have been some nations formerly inhabiting Scandinavia distinct from those settled there within historical memory, of whom we have no record or tradition; but we have trustworthy accounts of the first peopling of Iceland by its present race of inhabitants, and at that period we know it was a desert island, from which, therefore, there were no such tribes to be driven away. Grotius seems to have fixed on Norway and Abyssinia as the two nearest countries to the American continent from which men, possessed of seafaring knowledge could have passed over, without, however, entering into any inquiries to judge of their

ethnological affinities. But in so doing, he forgot that the same arguments might be brought against his suppositions, which he considered so conclusive against the others. For if the American Indians could not have come from Tartary because they had no knowledge of horses or cattle, neither could they have come from Norway or Abyssinia without a knowledge or possession of the animals found in those countries. But we cannot admit his argument to be a valid one. If some of the American tribes had originally proceeded from Scythia or Tartary, having been possessors there of horses and cattle, those who came to America may well be presumed to have come, not of free will over the inhospitable regions of the north, but as wanderers and fugitives. Some might have come as hunters, and some from the restlessness of spirit characterizing uncivilized people; but the greater part we may presume came over the ice and snows of the north as weaker bands driven away from their former habitations by stronger parties in their native communities. If, then, we suppose they had thus to traverse those vast icy regions in hasty flight and fear of pursuit, where no subsistence could be found for their horses and cattle, and scarcely any for themselves, it is all but certain that they must soon have lost, or have had to kill, the animals they had brought with them, and their descendants in a very few generations—and we can give them centuries in the interval—could not fail to lose every knowledge or tradition of their existence.

Our great historian, Dr. Robertson, after the full consideration he gave the subject, came to the conclusion that the American Indians came originally from the north-east of Asia, and he has in this opinion been followed by the great majority of modern writers. He says, "The vicinity of the two continents of Asia and America renders it highly probable that the human race first passed that way from Asia. In latitude 66° N the two coasts are only thirteen leagues asunder, and about midway between them lie two islands, the distance from which to either shore is short of twenty miles. At this place the natives of Asia could find no difficulty in passing over to the opposite coast, which is in sight of their own. They might have also travelled across on sledges or on foot; for we have reason to

believe, from the accounts of Capt. Cook and his officers, that the Strait is entirely frozen over in the winter, so that the continents during that season, with respect to the communication between them, may be considered as one land."—"We may therefore conclude," he adds, "that the Asiatics, having settled in those parts of America where have been discovered those approximations of the two continents, spread gradually over its various regions." He concludes that the progenitors of all the American nations from Cape Horn to the south limits of Labrador, from the similarity of their aspect, colour, &c., migrated from the north-east parts of Asia, and that the nations which inhabit Labrador, Esquimaux, and parts adjacent, from their unlikeness to the American nations, and their resemblance to the northern Europeans, came over from the north-west parts of Europe.

Whatever degree of respect we may think justly due to the opinion of so eminent a writer, I feel compelled to say that this one does not seem to me free from objections. The latitude indicated, 66° North, is that of Behring's Straits, where, and 10° still further south, the cold is so intense as to affect even spirits of wine; and though undoubtedly the Strait is entirely frozen over the greater part of the year, and people can go over in sledges and on foot, the natives who do so now are the Esquimaux, the present inhabitants of those regions, and who, as he acknowledges, bear no resemblance to the other nations of America, but a strong one to some of the northern Europeans. With regard to them, therefore, the learned historian has to suggest another origin,—that they are descendants of Norwegians and Icelanders, adopting the theory of Grotius, but applying it to another people. If, however, this theory is at all admissible, it must be on the supposition of the progenitors of the Esquimaux having been inhabitants of Norway and the north of Europe prior to the Scandinavians, by whom they had been driven to the extreme north. The peopling of Iceland, as before observed, comes within the limits of history, and we know that when first inhabited by the Scandinavians they found it a desert. It cannot be intended that the Esquimaux were to be supposed of the same family as the Scandinavians, considering the vast difference in their language,

manners, and physical appearance; though we may admit that the first tides of emigration might have carried to the north the people from whom the Esquimaux are descended, and that they had been driven there at a very early period, so as to have made them at length become inured to the climate, and the mode of life it necessitated. Such a people, so inured to the climate, were the Esquimaux when the Norwegians first reached their shores, and, in their surprise at seeing them so different from themselves, called them *Scrælings*, or dwarfs, shewing that there was no affinity whatever, at that time, between them. It could be only long years of privations and endurings of hardships that could enable the Esquimaux to traverse over those icy regions with the facilities they have learned to practise; but they are very different people from the other almost numberless nations of America, in its vast extent from Cape Horn to the south limits of Labrador, who cannot be supposed, therefore, to be derived from their stock. These nations, it should be remembered, had also a great variety of languages, and, though bearing a general resemblance among themselves, yet nevertheless had still among themselves a number of strong distinguishing characteristics. It is scarcely possible, therefore, to suppose, under these circumstances, that they all came across the snows of Behring's Straits, and to have had the means of subsistence for that purpose, or the necessary defences against the inclemency of the climate, so as all to have been the same, or cognate people from the same quarter, and divided after their arrival in America, as they were found to be divided. Before any people would expose themselves to the severe climates of the north, and to a passage over a frozen ocean, the opposite shores of Asia must be supposed further to have become densely populated, to make it necessary for any portion of them to go away on any hazardous journey. But even in the present day we cannot find that the extreme north-east shores of Asia are at all so densely populated; and the conclusion altogether, therefore, seems inevitable, that although some portion and even a large portion, of the American nations might have come across by those straits, yet they were not the ancestors of all the American nations, nor yet of the greater part of them.

The same remarks apply in a great measure to the opinions of the latest writer of eminence on the subject in our day, Dr. Latham, who observes, "I believe that if the Pacific coast of America had been the one first discovered and fullest described, so that Russian America, New Caledonia, Queen Charlotte's Archipelago, and Nutka Sound had been as well known as we know Canada and New Brunswick, there would never have been any doubts or difficulties as to the origin of the so-called Red Indians of the New World, and no one would ever have speculated about Africans finding their way to Brazil, or Polynesians to California. The common sense *primà facie* view would have been admitted at once, instead of being partially refined or partially abandoned. North-Eastern Asia would have passed for the fatherland to North-Western America; and instead of Chinese and Japanese characteristics creating wonder when discovered in Mexico and Peru, the only wonder would have been in the rarity of the occurrence. But geographical discovery came from another quarter; and as it was the Indians of the Atlantic whose history first served as food for speculation, the most natural view of the origin of the American population was the last to be adopted,—perhaps it has still to be recognised." ("Man and his Migrations," p. 122.)

From this it appears that the learned writer, giving in his adhesion to the supposition of one only means of arrival of the so-called Red Indians into America equally with Dr. Robertson, would, however, give them a lower range of places of transit of from 10° to 15° further south, even if he does not also allot for them China and Japan as their "fatherland."

On the other hand, another late writer, Dr. Lang, in his "Origin and Migrations of the Polynesians," while falling into the same exclusiveness of ascribing one only source of origin for the American Indians, deduces their migration from another direction. He says "there is abundant reason to believe that America was originally peopled from Asia, not, as is generally believed, by way of the Aleutian islands at the entrance of Behring's Straits, but by way of the South-Sea islands and across the widest part of the Pacific Ocean" (p. 86). All these writers, I venture to suggest, are correct to a certain degree in their suppositions as to the localities from which migrations

actually took place, but mistaken in supposing any one of them to have been so exclusively of the others.

The whole population of America, when discovered by Columbus, has been estimated at about forty millions. This I consider to have been a rather exaggerated estimate; but still, taking it as correct, if they had all proceeded from one only source, it appears to me almost impossible but that they must have been more intimately connected with one another by language, manners, and character, than the various divisions shewed them to have been in reality. Some writers, in the face of this difficulty, have endeavoured to maintain that the various languages of the different nations of America, though so apparently distinct, were yet all formed upon essentially the same basis; and with regard to their manners and character, as proofs of an identity of origin, have adduced a number of analogies, which, however, on examination will be found only such as are common to the whole race of mankind. To answer their purpose, they should have passed over those common analogies, and dwelt only on those found peculiarly in some families distinctly from others, constituting the real difference between them; and they should also have explained why some of the most remarkable peculiarities are found among different nations of America according to their localities, in which peculiarities the neighbouring nations do not in any way participate. In the same manner with regard to their languages: when they allege that these are all, in the American continent, of the same character and structure, they should have shewn how, in these respects, they are different from the other languages of the world. This has mainly to be taken for granted upon their statements, with the exception of a fanciful theory of what Du Ponceau called Polysyntheticism, and Humboldt and others have termed Agglutination; but the vocabularies and grammatical structures of the languages given in the valuable Essays of the American Ethnological Society, and other works published on the subject of those languages, certainly do not shew any material difference between the structure of the native languages of America and that of the rest of the world. Many of the old suppositions, in fact, arose only from an imperfect knowledge

of the languages, and were adopted from a few isolated cases to maintain an imaginative generality. The more carefully we undertake to examine the common general treatises on the grammar of the various American nations, the more certainly we shall find them as distinctly marked in groups as are the languages of the other continents, and having clearly traceable connections with the languages of the other continents, so as to have no more a peculiar identity of structure with one another, than the respective groups may evidence of Asiatic or other foreign origin.

These views are now fully admitted by the later writers of America, as Van Amringe, in his "*Natural History of Man*," and Professor Rafinesque, of Philadelphia, who seems to have studied more than any other the native languages. The former, while referring to Du Ponceau's edition of the "*Leni Lenape Grammar*," says—"The whole grammatical arrangement of language, from vowels and consonants to prosody, is arranged in the savage tones of these unlettered barbarians substantially upon the same principles as in the elaborately polished languages of Europe" (p. 532). The latter, Professor Rafinesque, says—"The theory about the common exclusive grammatical structure of all the American nations is erroneous, and based upon partial facts. (See "*American Nations*," Philadelphia, 1836, p. 65.) Since the time of Du Ponceau a more discriminating class of philologists has arisen in the United States, among whom we have to name Professor W. W. Turner, whose labours for the Smithsonian Institute demand our respectful attention, and Dr. Francis Hawks, the learned translator of Rivero's "*Peruvian Antiquities*." These writers state, directly in opposition to the fanciful theories of their predecessors, that "our materials respecting the Indian languages are as yet too scanty to justify sweeping general assertions, and that it is not true that they are all characterized by what Du Ponceau called Polysyntheticism, though it doubtless exists in many instances." (Hawks' "*Rivero*," New York, 1853, p. 119.) In the same work it is also stated by Rivero himself, a native of Peru, who had made the antiquities of his country his peculiar study, that "the American languages are susceptible of geographical division,

some being soft, with principally vowel terminations, and others harsh, with terminal consonants" (p. 114). In conformity with these distinctions, accordingly, we further find some writers discovering decided analogies between various American languages and those of north-eastern Asia on the one hand, and other writers shewing as decided analogies between some American and Polynesian languages on the other, all equally deserving of the fullest investigation.

From these considerations, then, it seems a natural consequence that the inhabitants of America did not all proceed from one only source, and that those opinions, therefore, are erroneous which are founded on that supposition. Other writers, as Garcia, De Laet, and Horn, who have pointed out a number of different countries and localities from which the first settlers might have come, as Horn says, rather than positively limiting them to a particular route, appear to me to hold correcter opinions.

The same kind of events that we see, even in our days, of frequent occurrence, and know to have been of frequent occurrence in history, we may reasonably conclude to have been the universal rule with regard to man in the course of his migrations. When we see that there is scarcely an island in the ocean on which inhabitants have not been found, and frequently, in comparatively small islands, that two or more distinct tribes are found speaking distinct languages, those languages, as the Polynesian with its numberless dialects, often spread over immense areas, over which it is difficult, at first sight, to discover how they could have arrived at their respective localities, we see clearly still in operation the laws of migration by which the world has been peopled from the beginning. In one of the most recent works on the subject, Mr. Pickering's, the author traces two great routes of emigration from the East Indies into the main Pacific, at the same time that he indicates other modes by which the Polynesian Islands have become inhabited. (Chap. xvii.) Agreeing with him in his observations on these points, though not concurring in others, it appears to me that he might well have extended his conclusions further than he has done, and that the wandering tribes who had been so traced to those islands cou!

equally well have been followed to the mainland of America. Even in our days we know of Japanese vessels being driven by storms to the shores of America, who had been engaged in commercial pursuits; and such occurrences have been reported to have occurred constantly in former times. In Ellis's "Polynesian Researches," in particular, many such cases are detailed. But besides peaceful pursuits, we may be sure that in every uncivilized stage of society the various stragglers who wandered over the ocean in search of abodes were often impelled by more numerous and more pressing motives. Uncivilized nations, whether of earlier or later ages, have always been characterized by the same barbarous treatment of their captives. When any tribe was attacked by a more powerful one, or when one party in a state, in the course of civil dissensions or personal animosities, had to succumb to their enemies, the weaker party had no other resource for safety but flight. If the seas were open to them, whatever might be the insufficiency of their means of transport, there was still for them a chance of escape from imminent destruction; and thus the same causes which have often led to the foundation of powerful states, must have often led to colonies of the savage tribes, who ventured themselves from time to time on the Indian and Pacific Oceans, to escape from enemies still more dreadful than the waves. If the small islands in those oceans, often more than a thousand miles apart, were all thus, some time or other, discovered and peopled, as proved by the affinity of languages prevailing throughout those seas, or by the physical characteristics of the inhabitants—as, for instance, Otaheite and New Zealand, which are 2000 miles apart, without any land intervening, and yet, when discovered, were found to have the same language spoken in them—we may well conclude that an immense continent like America, in the course of so many ages, could not fail to have been reached and peopled by the same kindred tribes also. The same events having been in operation for unknown centuries, even if not begun until Asia had become fully populated, there would have been ample time for the peopling of America to the extent it was peopled when discovered by Columbus, as well as for that of the remoter islands of the Pacific. But from the diversity of tribes and languages

found in the new continent, allowing for the natural increase of the immigrants in their new abodes, and considering their relative numbers, all very limited even among the most populous nations, according to the most probable computations, it appears to me clear, that no large migration had ever taken place at any one time. On the contrary, they seem to indicate that the American Indians were all descendants of small bands of fugitives, say of tens or twenties, or perhaps, at the utmost, of a few hundreds, who had succeeded in reaching those shores after being exposed to much labour and many dangers in so doing: and though numbers no doubt might and must have perished on the way, yet if only a few couples had succeeded in establishing themselves safely in localities favourable to the preservation of life, they would have been amply sufficient, in the course of, say, only 2000 years, to increase to more than double the numbers at which they were estimated when the Spaniards arrived amongst them.

Let us not, however, undervalue the means of transport possessed even by very barbarous people over those seas which they had to traverse in the more benignant climates of our globe. The accounts of our voyagers abound with notices of the vast numbers of canoes with which they were surrounded on reaching newly-discovered shores. Mr. Squier records a statement of one of the first settlers in New Hampshire, that the tribe of the Penacooks, at the time of their destruction by the Maquaas or Mohawks, had three hundred birch canoes in Little Bay, and that they had seen as many there at that time (p. 148). These three hundred canoes we may certainly calculate could have carried off a thousand persons, if the owners had chosen to fly instead of staying to encounter their enemies to their extermination, and thus they might have found refuge in some of the West-Indian islands. But some of the canoes are represented to have been of really astonishing dimensions. Without referring to the fleets of vessels, some of four hundred tons burden, mentioned by the Portuguese in the seas of Asia, with the knowledge of the mariners' compass, Ferdinand Columbus and Diaz del Castillo both state there were found some, on their first visiting the West-Indian islands, capable of holding forty or forty-five

persons each; and Peter Martyr says there was one having as many as eighty rowers. If we consider the state of discipline necessary to manage such vessels and crews, and the provision necessary to be made for their maintenance, we must acknowledge that there were sufficient means at the command of those tribes to remove themselves bodily by sea in long voyages, so that, in the comparatively smooth waters of the tropics, they might have transported themselves from very long distances to the places in which they were found by Europeans of different nations.

In this one respect, then, it appears to me that the various authors to whom I have referred are correct in supposing the Indians of America to be descendants of fugitives from very different parts of the ancient world, the far greater part of whom undoubtedly came from Asia, though from different parts of Asia to different parts of America, at many and different periods of time, and possessing different degrees of barbarism or semi-civilization. Such different bands of fugitives, if meeting at any time, and commingling either as friends, or even as conquerors and conquered, would in the course of two or three generations become a people with a language and character difficult to be traced to either line of progenitors, as few persons could be found so intimately acquainted with the original languages of either line as to be able, under perhaps a pronunciation vitiated with regard to both, to ascertain their origin.

It is too much the practice of Ethnologists to string together a number of names of the people they recount, without considering that they may all be of the same family or nation, or, at any rate, without shewing that they are really distinct. In a geographical point of view, it is no doubt correct to give the local names of the people inhabiting the several localities; but Ethnology requires that no distinction should be made where there is no specific difference. As Humboldt has well observed "to accumulate facts without generalizing an idea, is as sterile in history as it is in philosophy." The true value of such knowledge is to gather from them what is essential for the object of our researches, and so use particular data for general specifications.

On the other hand, it is too much the fault of travellers to dwell on generalities. Thus there has been no agreement among writers on the American Indians greater than to pronounce them all, from their alleged general resemblance, to be people of the same origin, or, as Cieza de Leon said shortly after the conquest, and Sir R. Schomburgk has repeated before this Society, to be "all children of one family." This general resemblance is certainly very great; but, as Von Humboldt has correctly observed, it has been much overstated; and those who become really conversant with different nations of America very soon become enabled to note the great differences actually discernible between them: yet still, no doubt there is also a great general resemblance among them, inasmuch as they all shew decided evidences, in their general appearance, of their origin from what is commonly called the Mongolian race, predominant in Asia. But, as in Asia itself there are many nations with very distinct characteristics, so their descendants in America—taking here for granted that they are their descendants—must also be expected to have as equally distinct characteristics, perhaps even more markedly distinct, arising from their further wanderings and comminglings in their new abodes. If, then, the theory be correct, of the American Indians being traceable to different parts of Asia, the inference may be expected of analogies existing in respect of language, and manners, and physical appearances of the various nations respectively in the two continents, which it next becomes a part of our task to point out.

I know there has latterly been a supposition of races now extinct having formerly existed in America, not only from the works and remains of ancient skill and labour, but also from the shape of the skulls sometimes found there, supposed to be of a different conformation from that of any people now existing. The former ground of opinion, founded on a supposed unascertainable antiquity of the remains of handiwork, I trust I have already sufficiently answered. The latter, arising from the different shape of skulls, appears to me susceptible of the same answer, though, as an unprofessional dissentient, I feel more hesitation in disputing the theory. Still, when I look around in vain for any well recognised bodily representatives

of Greek or Roman skulls, nay, of our own island races of more than a thousand years back, and doubting the preservation of the bones of any beyond that period without artificial means being adopted, I cannot attach any value to the deductions formed from a few crania, whose history is all founded on conjecture, and which may have been only those of some barbarous people who had some peculiar fancy for distorting the head, as many savage tribes are known to have done in later times. If any people had ever existed in America of a different conformation to the rest of mankind, within the limits of time during which their crania could have escaped the law of returning to the dust from which they were formed, we cannot suppose they could have become utterly exterminated, so as to leave no representative of their species within the limits prescribed to history, especially if they were the builders of such works as yet remain in Peru, Mexico, and Central America, or even of the mighty mounds of the valley of the Mississippi.

Turning, then, from the insubstantialities of hypothesis to the realities of facts, without attempting to enter into minute particularities, we may observe, with regard to North America, that there seem to have been two great divisions of people among the Indians inhabiting the eastern and western countries of that continent. They both bore the general colour and appearance of the Mongol, or Asiatic race, but those on the west alone had the obliquity of eye peculiar to the Mongolians, that peculiarity extending down to Mexico, Central America, and still further south, evidencing their origin from the Mongols of the north-west of Asia. In the eastern countries of North America this strongly-marked peculiarity was not found, as Dr. Morton has also stated in his great work, "*Crania Americana*;" while the Indians there were distinguishable by manners equally indicative of their distinct origin. With respect to these I do not wish to strain after many common analogies between similar customs of people of different countries, as painting or scarifying their bodies, because there are so many of these so obviously common to man, in every age and quarter of the world, as to be rather inherent instincts of his nature than peculiar national dis-

tinctions. But there are others of a strange and extraordinary, some even of a revolting character, which must be supposed to have originated from some peculiar idiopathy, rather than from the suggestions of our common nature or human feeling. In these respects, then, while we find the nations of the east and west sides of North America equally savage and blood-thirsty, yet those on the east had some particular customs or practices unknown to those of the west ; or, if not unknown, yet not in general use among them ; such as the wampum, the calumet or pipe of peace, the shaving of the head, the practice of scalping, the rite of circumcision, and the building of mounds. All these customs or practices are clearly traceable throughout what we may call Scythia or Tartary, especially that of building mounds, which, common as they are in the eastern half of North America, are still more common throughout Siberia and all Tartary, from which quarter, therefore, we may conclude that the progenitors of that family of American Indians originally came. With regard to the mounds, a late American writer has observed—"From Dr. Clarke's travels it appears ancient works exist in various parts of Asia, similar to those of North America. His description of them reads as though he was contemplating some of those mounds. Vast numbers of them have been discovered in Siberia and the deserts bordering on the empire to the south. The situation, construction, appearance, and general contents of these Asiatic tumuli and the American mounds are so nearly alike, that there can be no hesitation in ascribing them to the same race." (Priest's "American Antiquities," Albany, 1838, p. 56.) The other practices are equally identical, and that one of scalping is mentioned by Herodotus, so far back as his time, as Scythian. It is true that the American mounds are less in number and magnitude in those parts now constituting the British provinces and the northern states of the Union ; but when we consider the rigour of the climate, impelling the wandering tribes to seek more genial habitations to the south, we may reasonably judge they had passed hastily through the northern provinces in their journeyings over the frozen regions ; and it was only when they arrived in what they considered settled abodes that they reverted to their old national

customs. It is also in this way we are to account for the American mounds, though so many thousands in number, yet as not being so numerous, so vast, or so abounding in valuable and curious deposits as the Asiatic, because, as the works of colonists, if we may use the phrase with regard to the builders, they could not be supposed to be so numerous, so settled, or so wealthy, as the inhabitants of the country from which they sprang. Such analogies and considerations, *prima facie*, give us considerable reason to expect that we ought to look for the origin of the various American nations in the countries to which they refer; and thus, according to the theory I maintain, the Ethnologist ought to look to Tartary, to compare the languages yet existing there throughout its whole extent with the languages of the people on the eastern shores of North America; while to trace the origin of the various tribes on the western coasts, down to Central America, he ought to compare their languages with those of the nations who inhabit the eastern parts of Asia. Were this course to be sedulously followed, I feel persuaded that very extraordinary analogies might be discovered, and the question of origin and unity of race even might be settled. To effect this object, it must be necessary, not only to accumulate vocabularies and grammars, but also to arrange them in a manner to admit of the easiest reference. For this purpose, then, I should wish to see carried out, with regard to different divisions of continents, the course adopted by our Government when they ordered a general vocabulary of the principal languages of Western and Central Africa to be compiled for the use of the Niger Expedition (London, 1841). Such general vocabularies would, I feel convinced, be found of invaluable assistance for the comparisons desired.

In the same manner, tracing the people of Central and South America, from the Polynesian Islands, from China, Japan, and other countries of Asia, as far as India, we may expect to find in their languages equal analogies. That there was considerable intercourse between the two continents from a period long anterior to Columbus, can scarcely admit of a doubt. Ranking, in his "Historical Researches," has produced some very ingenious arguments to shew that the Peru-

vian empire was founded by the remnants of a Mongol army that had been sent to conquer Japan, but which had been driven off from that island by a storm, so that none of those composing it had ever returned to their own country. Though we can by no means assent to all his conclusions, yet we must acknowledge that he has adduced strong probabilities of some connection between the Inca dynasty and the empire of the Mongols. De Guignes has shewn, from the Chinese annals, that the existence of a civilized power in America had been known in China before the time of Columbus; and Mr. Squier, in the work to which I have several times referred as the most careful and trustworthy of American works on the subject, has distinctly stated, though somewhat contrary to what seem his own predilections for the theory of an aboriginal civilization, "that in India are found the almost exact counterparts of the religious structures of Central America, analogies furnishing the strongest support of the hypothesis which places the origin of American semi-civilization in southern Asia" (p. 249). Other writers have pointed out the analogies of languages between various nations of South America and the inhabitants of Polynesia; as Dr. Barton in America, Vater in Germany, and Lang in his "Origin and Migrations of the Polynesians." The latter author, though he has also been led away too much by his theory to give it an exclusive operation, has shewn the identity of the peoples, so as to make it almost a certainty, that if we had such vocabularies as before suggested of South American and Polynesian languages carefully drawn out, we might be enabled clearly to trace the affinities of perhaps every nation on the continent. Beyond these authorities, if we compare the handiworks and manufactures of the one with those of the other people, I think there can be no doubt remaining in our minds of their being of the same origin. On this point I content myself with referring to the valuable work published at Vienna in 1851, entitled "Peruvian Antiquities," to compare the representations therein given of those remains with the articles from Polynesia in the British Museum and other museums, in corroboration of these statements.

In all these cases the suppositions point to an Asiatic or

Mongolian origin for the great body of the American Indians, which would account for their strong general resemblance. But it is not the less probable, in the presence of this fact, that there might still have been found on the American continent descendants of colonists from other parts of the world. The Esquimaux, as before mentioned, have been generally considered of European origin; and though later researches have tended to shew a strong probability of that people belonging rather to the north of Asia, we may coincide in the belief of their having affinities with the white race of mankind from their complexion, though they have the oblique eye, and perhaps other features, more akin to the Mongols. Whether it was these people whom Grotius and other writers supposed to have come over from Scandinavia, it seems to me a fact, as certain as any that history presents, of the Scandinavians as we now know them having found their way across the Atlantic many centuries before Columbus. I am even ready to believe that they had come across more frequently, and had penetrated further even than what their records testify. We must not always rely on the silence of history to put a negative on any particular question, any more than we can rely on its assertions for an affirmative. From Norway to the American continent there is generally found a favourable wind blowing to waft a vessel across the ocean, and thus many a small vessel may have had no other resource than to go before the wind, driven over by storms against which they could not make head, and of which no remembrance has been recorded, even though some might have returned. With this persuasion in my mind, I can readily admit, as probably true, the traditions of Welsh and Irish colonies having also crossed over the Atlantic, as well as the better authenticated ones of the northmen, some of which might have soon perished from violent or natural causes, and some, in the course of a few generations, have become so swamped among the natives as to lose all knowledge of the strangers that had arrived there among their ancestors. Under the circumstances supposed, of vessels driven across the Atlantic, it is unnecessary to argue that females could not have been present in any proportionate numbers; and if the men had to form any associations with

the natives, so as to leave a mixed progeny, that progeny might have shewn their origin by a fairer complexion and greater intelligence than their neighbours, as the Mandans for instance, and other tribes both of North and South America. In such cases, even if the unfortunate castaways had been of a superior class of persons in their own country, their progeny would naturally grow up with the habits of the mothers, rather than with a knowledge of the civilization of their fathers. Nay, it is probable that these would soon forget the knowledge of civilized life themselves, and, in a new state of society, with the pressure of new wants, sink into barbarism, rather than continue superior to it. That there have been numberless cases of vessels driven or drifted across the Atlantic we have abundant instances. Even if we doubt the story, which I must say I do not doubt, of the mariner who is stated by many respectable authors to have given Columbus positive information of lands on the other side of the ocean, I think I can gather from his son's narrative that he had heard of such reports: and when he arrived at Guadaloupe, on his second voyage, he found there the poop of a vessel which had been very probably wrecked in the neighbourhood. We know, also, that, only five years after Columbus had achieved his great discovery, the Portuguese admiral, Cabral, on his way to the East Indies, was driven by strong winds on to the coast of Brazil, which casualty would thus have given the knowledge of a new continent to the civilized world, even if the energies of Columbus had not been previously directed to that object. The like circumstances have driven many vessels, in more modern times, from the old world to the new; and the same must have frequently occurred in former ages, as, indeed, we may judge from the positive statement of various authors to that effect, equally in the cases of people proficient in the art of navigation, and those possessing the most limited knowledge of it. The same events, again, before referred to with regard to the causes of migrations, must be expected to have arisen in all parts of the world; and as we have contended that the main body of the American Indians proceeded from Asia, though admitting the probability of some of them being associated with descendants of stray Europeans, we may, on the same

grounds, assent to the probability of some African nations or tribes also having found their way across the Atlantic, to mingle their race and languages with the people they might happen to meet there.

The older writers on the origin of the American nations, such as Garcia, Horn, and De Laet, have laid very great stress on the probability of the new continent being, in a considerable degree, peopled from Africa. They maintained that America was in reality, from very early times, known to the Phœnicians, or at any rate to the Carthaginians; and that the ancient inhabitants of the Canary Islands, generally designated Guanches, and other African tribes down the western coasts of Africa, had been, some of them, from time to time driven or drifted across to Brazil and other eastern coasts of South America. As before observed, these opinions may be received as probable, on the same principles which we have acknowledged to be just with regard to the other wanderers from the Old World to the New: and much as some later writers have discredited the idea of the new continent having been known to the ancients, I feel bound to say, that I feel as much assured of the fact as of any event in history. The Greeks and Romans certainly are not to be included in this supposition, and much less the Jews or Egyptians, who were not sea-going people; but we have sufficient references in classic authors to lands on the other side of the ocean, to feel assured of some indistinct rumours of such lands having reached them, and those rumours were most probably obtained from Phœnician or Carthaginian sources. It would be foreign to the purposes of this essay to enter fully upon this proof; but it will be sufficient for me here, in connection with the subject, to observe, that the hypothesis seems to me most correct, of the civilization which formerly existed in Yucatan and Central America having owed its origin to the Phœnicians, who, as being immediate neighbours to the Jews and to the Egyptians, no doubt held many of their customs in common with them, so as to account for what few Jewish or Egyptian analogies have been found in that part of the New World. Many very respectable Greek and Latin authors, it is true, whose inquiries led them directly to the subject—Pliny and Strabo, for instance—have no refe-

rence to any such knowledge, perhaps because, having no seafaring persons to consult on it respecting such extraordinary particulars, they forbore to enter on any discussion of what they could neither assert nor deny. But there are at least ten or a dozen no less respectable authors of antiquity who have given such notices of other lands, some fully, others slightly and incidentally, but not the less trustworthily, as to make it a matter of surprise that scholars should have passed over them so almost unnoticed. Modern investigations, also, seem to me to prove the fact incontestably. The ruined cities of Yucatan and Central America, existing almost entirely on the sea-coast, and decreasing sensibly as we proceed inland, shew that they owed their origin to some foreign maritime people, rather than to any indigenous civilization. If that foreign people had been Phoenicians or Carthaginians, they would no doubt have brought numbers of other African nations in their train, besides those who had found their way across, independently of them, over the comparatively smooth waters of those regions, where the smallest and worst-founded boats have only to run before the wind, and, with the current, must ere long have reached the opposite shores. These, and any other wandering tribes found in the interior, a civilized people would soon have gathered under their dominion. Many of those who came over at the same periods might have also formed independent communities, as the Guanches, whose peculiar mode of desiccating their dead may be believed traceable in the remains of some of the ancient inhabitants of America reported by different writers. The religious rites of Yucatan, as detailed by the Spanish conquerors, were very distinguishable from those of the Mexicans, and shewed a different origin. When visited by the Spaniards, the descendants of the earliest settlers had evidently much degenerated, and, shut out from all later knowledge of modern arts, could not make head against the firearms and weapons of their invaders. Their race, accordingly, was soon extirpated, even if it had not been extirpated previously, at least in effect; and the opportunity of learning their traditions having been lost, we have it now only left us to judge from the remains of their cities, as from the foot of Hercules, the proportionate extent

of their former civilization. The full consideration of this topic would require a volume much beyond the limits for which I can claim your attention; but this much may be allowed me, in discussing the subject before us, to account for what so many writers have been fancying a mysterious aboriginal civilization of an extinct race peculiar to America. Civilization, it is indubitable, flourished there in a remarkable degree; and as myself an eye-witness of its traces, and humbly venturing an opinion the result of considerable study and research, I feel no hesitation in submitting it, even thus incomplete, to your judgment, as owing to Carthaginian colonization of about eighteen hundred years date back from the time of the Spanish invasion, degenerating gradually until that time, when the few who could have explained it were extirpated unheard.

After this civilized intercourse with the New World, and before the time of Columbus, there were probably many cases of African tribes or fugitives finding their way to America, as Asiatics had done on the other coasts. When Columbus first arrived at the islands he found them generally inhabited by a timid people, who seem to have been of the same nation as those inhabiting Yucatan, from the fact of their all speaking a language dialectically different, but intelligible to one another. This fact we learn from Peter Martyr, the most intelligent and fullest of the cotemporary historians. Though he never visited America himself, yet he sought out most sedulously all the information possible from the various adventurers who returned thence, to be repeated to the Pope and other princes of Italy, for whom he seems to have been an agent in Spain. His letters, accordingly, are among the most minute and trustworthy records of the times, written in the way such important events deserved to be communicated; and as he died in 1526, having shortly before returned to his native Italy, we have from him an authentic narrative of what was observed by the first conquerors, as if written by themselves. From him, and also from the life of Columbus by his son, translated in Churchill's "*Collection of Voyages*," we learn that the discoverers fell in with several tribes of savages of a darker colour than the general body of Indians, and some of them actually

black. One of these tribes is described by Peter Martyr in terms expressive of their having been negroes, and, if negroes, they must be supposed to have crossed over from Africa. Whether they had any affinity to the general body of the nation or people known as the Caribs does not appear; but independently of them, as they dwelt on the main land, there was found a widely-diffused tribe of a dark colour and peculiar ferocity, throughout the islands, designated Caribs or Cannibals. These names were given them by the other Indians, the word "Carib," as Peter Martyr informs us, "in the language of all these countries signifying 'stronger than the rest,' and was never uttered by any of the other islanders without dread." This people seem to have been then but newly arrived in those islands, some of which, as the Spaniards were informed, they had lately depopulated. Peter Martyr considered their original country to have been what he and the Spaniards called Caribana, situate on the east of the Bay of Uraba, on the main land. They were, however, evidently too intractable a race to submit to any intercourse with the Spaniards, whereby any satisfactory information might have been obtained; and though the name Carib might thus have been given them extraneously, yet, as they seem to have taken it as their own, it might possibly have been also their proper name, as in Africa are found people bearing one of a similar sound, Karabàs and Carabalis. It was upwards of a century and a half after the conquest before the attention of inquiring minds was turned to their history, when two French writers gave the fullest and most interesting account of them and their language that we possess. The first was M. De Rochefort, who published in 1658 his "*Histoire Morale des Antilles*;" and the second, Father Raymond Le Breton, who published in 1665-66 his *Carib Grammar, Dictionary, and Catechism*. The latter has treated only of the language, while the former not only gave a distinct corroborative Vocabulary of it, but also endeavoured to investigate their history, so as to have at least the merit of affording valuable assistance to all future inquirers on the subject. That he might not have been altogether correct in his conjectures does not at all detract from his merits; and, canvassing them freely, we must fully acknowledge our

obligations to him for the information given us. Were all travellers to adopt the like plan of writing the "moral history" of the people they visit, and in advisable cases to favour us with like vocabularies, they would enhance the value of their works by enabling future philologists to trace the changes of languages, and perhaps even the origin of the people. M. Rochefort's work was translated into English by Mr. Davies, of Kidwally, printed in London in 1666, who, however, did not name his author, as he ought to have done, though acknowledging his own to have been translated from the French, so that the subject of which he treated became known to the literature of England as well as of France. Other writers had also referred to the Caribs, though not so fully. Rochefort refers to one whom I have not seen as an authority for some of his statements, as well as to a friend, an Englishman named Brigstock, of whom he speaks highly, as having lived much among the Indians, and acquired great knowledge of their customs and languages. From the latter he obtained a theory of the Caribs having proceeded originally from Florida, which, though evidently contrary to his own judgment, which assigned their origin to South America, he gives at great length, and with more particularity and respect than was due to it. Besides these, there were afterwards some other writers of lesser note, to one only of whom I think it necessary to refer here, Père Labat, who published, in 1724, an account of his residence among the Caribs. These writers all dwell on the certainly remarkable fact, that among the people the men spoke a language distinct from that spoken by the women. In all ages, and in a variety of different countries, we find, or trace, the circumstance of a chief's, or court language, existing, distinct from that spoken by the people, as in China in the present day, and as in England under the Normans. In some other instances, also, we learn of distinctive words in a nation as used by each sex respectively; in America particularly, as noticed by Mr. Gallatin, and among the Basques in our immediate neighbourhood, as mentioned by Lecluse. But I am not aware of any nation being so distinctly marked out in this respect as the Caribs, whose history, therefore, seems to me deserving of particular attention. We can readily conceive

the fact as necessarily ensuing from the kind of warfare ever carried on by barbarous nations, when the men who were overcome by an invading enemy were mercilessly slain, and the women alone preserved for the victors. If the women, then, possessed a different language, the progeny would naturally grow up speaking a mixture of both languages, as the English has grown up a combination of Saxon and Norman French. The main ingredient in such a case would probably be the language of the mothers, as that which is earliest learned on the mother's knee may be supposed to leave the deepest impression on the mind. This would form the staple and framework of the new language, for instance, the form of the verbs; as we find in the English language a vast majority of the verbs are derived from the Saxon, while the nouns may be perhaps mainly taken from the French or Latin. The terminations, however, of the nouns would be altered, in one case or the other, according to the speakers, and thus the grammarians would be enabled to designate them as masculine or feminine. It would depend much on the relative numbers of the conquerors and conquered as to what proportion of their respective languages should be retained, but they must soon be expected to amalgamate; and if they did not, as in the case of the Caribs, amalgamate for upwards of two hundred years, it was probably, in their case, owing to their peculiar ferocity of manners. The earliest writers inform us that there were several islands inhabited only by women, whom the men used to visit at stated times, having, it seems, devoured the men. On those visits they took away the boys as they grew up along with them, leaving the girls with their mothers. Besides these, we are told that the men treated the women they had with them with singular contempt, as if on account of their being of a different race, not allowing them to eat with them or to sit even in their presence. They were, in fact, their slaves, forming a society of their own among themselves; and if, as was probably the case, the boys were brought up with the fathers and the girls with their mothers, the two original languages might be kept distinct for an indefinite period. Though an extraordinary and curious circumstance, we may thus account for this distinct peculiarity continuing

among the Caribs for so long a time as we have shewn—for upward of 200 years, until the time of Labat. That it arose from a band of foreign invaders having come, killing the men and enslaving the women, is very evident. It has been already suggested that this occurred not long before the arrival of the Spaniards, as they were already there when Columbus reached the islands, which they were devastating, driving the more peaceful Indians into the interior of the larger islands for safety. Between their arrival, therefore, and the time of Le Breton and Rochefort about 200 years might have elapsed; and notwithstanding the distinction of languages existing, it will be difficult to suppose that they continued entirely unaltered. It is not improbable that, in the course of those 200 years, the transition natural in such cases would have been begun, of two distinct languages amalgamating to form a third, and thus that the verbs might be mainly derived from the language of the mothers, and the nouns from the language of the fathers. Since Le Breton's work of 1666, I am not aware of any investigation made of the Carib language, until the translation into it of St. Matthew's Gospel by the Rev. Mr. Henderson, of Belize, Honduras, in 1847. I had the pleasure of forming the acquaintance of this estimable clergyman in 1851, at Belize, and he then shewed me a vocabulary of the Carib language as now spoken, which he led me to hope would have been printed before now. Finding this has not been accomplished, I have been obliged to confine my inquiries into the present state of the language to that translation of St. Matthew, and from it obtain a full confirmation of my suppositions. My only surprise is, that even now, after the lapse of about 400 years, so much proof still remains of the origin of this people. It is to their probable origin, therefore, that I have now to ask your attention.

Respecting this, Rochefort seems not to have had a very clear opinion. He acknowledges that their own traditions generally referred to what he supposes to have been South America, but he had learned, from his friend Mr. Brigstock, a confused history of their having been a people driven from a northern country, which he concluded to have been Florida, by some Indians whom he calls Apalachians. That there might

have been some such outcasts from Florida we have no reason to dispute; but neither have we any good ground to conclude they afterwards became the people known as the Caribs. Robertson, and other writers, have followed P. Martyr in ascribing their origin to South America, where many powerful tribes of their nation certainly were found the whole extent from the Orinoco to Essequibo, and throughout the whole province of Surinam to Brazil. If they had been driven away from Florida by a stronger people they could scarcely have settled down in South America and the islands in such numbers as they were, and there was no nation found in Florida that could be supposed to have been strong enough to have driven them away. But further, if they had been driven away from Florida, it is most natural to suppose that they would have been found on the islands near Florida and to the north of Cuba and Hispaniola. But in the Bahamas none except the most timid race of Indians were found, and it was on the islands of the south where the Caribs actually were settled, and it was the southern shores of Cuba and Hispaniola which they infested. On these grounds, Bryan Edwards dissents very justly from this hypothesis; and observing that the Caribs seemed to him to be an entirely distinct race from the other Indians, widely differing from them in physical appearance and manners, he framed an opinion that they were in reality of African descent, and that their ancestors had come across the Atlantic. Before referring to Bryan Edwards, I had come to the same conclusion, from what had come under my observation of this people. Their general appearance and features, notwithstanding their straight shining hair, gave me the idea more of the African than the American Indian; and the fact of their having come from Africa was not, even according to Rochefort's account, inconsistent with their traditions, as these merely stated that they had come by sea from a far country, without distinctly shewing whether it was from the east or the west. But in his very candid account of their condition, notwithstanding it militates against his own hypothesis, Rochefort mentions one very curious fact, which seems to me to negative completely the supposition of their having come from South America. Having stated the circumstance of the Caribs

in the islands having two distinct languages, one for males and another for females, he tells us that the Caribs on the mainland of South America had only one language both for males and females, and that this was the same language as that spoken by the females on the islands. It seems clear from this that they could not have come from South America, because, if they had, how could they have lost their language and adopted another? On the other hand, if some of their nation, on coming to those regions, had settled on the continent, being fewer in number to the original inhabitants, they might very easily, in the course of time between Columbus and Rochefort, have forgotten it, and adopted that of the women, which the people on the islands had not done, on account of their different position, and their proportionate numbers to the women. Bryan Edwards observes, that even to the end of the last century an insensibility or contemptuous disregard to the females was a feature peculiar to the Caribs; and he notices, among other African customs among them, that they disfigured their cheeks with deep incisions and hideous scars, different from the other American Indians in their neighbourhood; that they had a habit of chewing what they called *betele*, as mentioned by P. Martyr; and that their women wore a sort of buskin, or half-boot, made of cotton, which surrounded the small part of the leg, as worn by the women of various nations of Africa, but not by any other of America. He might also have noticed their use of the *tom-tom*, or African drum, mentioned by Rochefort, formed from the hollow trunk of a tree, and covered only at one end, like our kettle-drums, and other African musical instruments, such as gourds filled with pebbles or small peas for rattles, and one made of gourds, on which they placed a cord formed of the string of a reed, which they called *Pite*, together with the inordinate love of dancing characteristic of Africans beyond the customary dances of the other Americans.

Impressed with the conviction of the Caribs being of African descent, Bryan Edwards finally turned to their language, and, as he says, by the help of a friend, collected fourteen words, or phrases to which they fancied they found their coincidents in Hebrew. Had this really been satisfactorily done he might

have reasonably set them down as Jews; but having gone carefully over the list, I cannot find more than one or two words they have selected that bear any resemblance, as they allege, and those few so slight as to deserve no further notice of the supposed analogy. His proper course would have been to compare the words given in Le Breton's Dictionary, or Rochefort's Vocabulary, with those of various African languages, so as to trace, if he could, any satisfactory resemblance between them, and shew the former to have been derived from the latter. In accordance with the theory suggested before as to the best means of shewing the descent of the various American tribes from their original abodes in Asia or Polynesia, I felt myself possessed of a great advantage for this purpose in the well arranged vocabulary compiled for the use of the Niger expedition, with the still more able and elaborate dissertation on the African languages by Dr. Latham, in the Transactions of the British Association for 1847. Supposing the Caribs to have come over from Africa, as they must have done, according to this hypothesis, about 400 years since, and considering the changes which must be calculated on as taking place in all languages in such a long space of time, it is impossible for us to expect that any very extended comparisons can be made, especially in the case of savage nations subject to so many mutations. The only wonder is, that any allowable analogies at all can be pointed out after such a lapse of time, and the satisfaction will be, therefore, proportionate, if we can shew coincidences as great, and as many, as have warranted Dr. Latham in assigning the various languages of Africa to certain groups, in the way he has done. If it be objected that they are not found all of one particular African nation, it may be a sufficient answer that these languages are so nearly allied, as to convince us they are only dialectically different, and that four hundred years since they might have been less distinct from one another than they are at present. I believe I shall not have to quote any one African language which is radically different from the others, knowing that many African nations and languages are often designated by different names, when they are in reality identical. At any rate, the languages referred to are all of the western nations of Africa, taken from

the vocabulary, so often mentioned, for the African words, and from Rochefort and Le Breton for the Carib. The modern Carib has full one half of the words different from those given by the French authors two hundred years since, and I find the adoption generally of the women's language mentioned by those authors, to which are there no sufficient analogies in the African to warrant my repeating them. Those which I think will prove my suppositions are as follows, premising, that as the Carib words are taken from French authors, they must have given them a French pronunciation; and also that my means of comparison are very limited, half the words in the Carib vocabularies being wanting in the African, and, *vice versa*.

English, Man.	English, Eye.	Uhobo, } Abo.
Carib, Ouekelli.	Carib, Akou.	Akuongo, }
Kongo, Iakelā.	Ako, Oyu.	Karaba, Uboh.
Ako, Okori.	—	—
English, Father.	English, Hair.	English, Foot.
Carib, Baba.	Carib, Iou.	Carib, Ogouti.
Ako, Baba.	Ako, Iru.	Karaba, Ukut.
Fulah, Baba.	—	—
English, Son.	English, Tooth.	English, Sun.
Carib, Inimou.	Carib, Ari.	Carib, Hueyu.
Ako, Omò.	Ako, Ehi.	Ibu, Awu, Auu.
—	—	Ashanti, Ouia.
English, Younger Brother.	English, Skin.	Fanti, Euia.
Carib, Ibiri.	Carib, Ora.	—
Yoruba, Aburo.	Ako, Awor.	English, Moon.
—	—	Carib, Nonum.
English, Daughter.	English, Shoulder.	Ako, Ona.
Carib, Iamouiri.	Carib, Echè.	—
Yoruba, Ommobiri.	Ako, Ejika.	English, Animal.
—	—	Carib, Arabou.
English, Head.	English, Blood.	Ako, Erako.
Carib, Ischic.	Carib, Itta.	—
Ibu, Ishi.	Ako, Eja.	English, Pig.
Fanti, Mitshi.	—	Carib, Bouirokou.
—	English, Breast.	Ashanti, } Beraku.
English, Head.	Carib, Ouri.	Fanti, }
Carib, Bonpou.	Ibu, Arrah.	—
Woloff, Bopé.	—	English, Dog.
—	English, Hand.	Carib, Auli.
	Carib, Oucabo.	Sereres, Oulley.
	Ako, Awo.	Mandingo, Wula.

Bambarra, Wulu.	English, Asleep.	Ibu, Ukata.
English, Serpent.	Carib, Aronea.	English, Bed.
Carib, Hehue, Aha.	Ibu, Arona.	Carib, Akat.
Ako, Eyo.	English, Day.	Ako, Akète.
English, Dead.	Carib, Ouarrou.	English, Bowl.
Carib, Aoueeli.	Fulah, Jurru.	Carib, Akaë.
Ibu, Angwale.	English, Basket.	Ibu, Aka.
	Carib, Alaouatta.	

From these various considerations, therefore, now submitted to your notice, namely, from the personal and moral characteristics of the Caribs, from their manners and customs, and especially from the analogies of language compared with those of Africa, or rather with the dialects of the one language which I believe formerly prevailed throughout the western coasts of Africa, now broken up into the dialects of it found there under different names, I trust you will come to the same conclusion with myself, that it was from Africa they had their origin. It may, perhaps, be said, that the words which I have shewn of the same import in the various African languages might have been introduced among the Caribs by the Africans brought over by Europeans as slaves. But this cannot have been the case in fact, because, taken as the words are generally from Le Breton's Dictionary of 1665, slaves had not at that time been introduced in any large numbers into the plantations, and the few that could have escaped from the plantations to seek refuge among the Caribs cannot be supposed to have had such influence among this people as to make them give up their language for that of a few fugitives who might have so come among them. In coming from Africa they had no doubt a long voyage to undertake; but we must remember that, when once afloat, whatever might have been the impelling causes, they had only to submit themselves to the winds and waves to be carried with little difficulty to the islands on the other side. We know, from Peter Martyr and other writers, that they had no small means and skill of so transporting themselves to great distances. He says, "They sailed in fleets of canoes to hunt after men, as others go to the forests to kill deer;" and that they had sufficient energy to undergo great

enterprises was shewn from their resistance to the Spaniards, of whom, the same writer says, "they had overthrown and slain whole armies." From their appetite for human flesh, learned not improbably in Africa, they would have been able to obtain sufficient sustenance for the long voyage across; and if only acquired by the necessities of that voyage, or strengthened by it, we need not be surprised at their systematic hunting after it in their new abodes. Under the influence of a long communication with the whites, though so harshly begun, they have long since abandoned that horrible practice, and all the later accounts of them represent them now as of docile and amiable dispositions. There are a few families of them, I understand, yet surviving in the islands of St. Vincent and Trinidad; and on the mainland there are several villages, for whom, as I have already stated, the Gospel of St. Matthew has been translated into their present jargon. In this I find comparatively few words of the language of the fathers: the greater part consists of those of the mothers' race, with a number of others from the French, Spanish, and English languages, and perhaps some of other neighbouring people.

In the third volume of Hakluyt, p. 577, are fifty-seven words of a language recorded as collected by Sir Robert Dudley in Trinidad in the year 1595. Of these I can only find a small number agreeing with those given by the French writers as being Carib. I have no decided opinion to offer on this diversity, and only mention the circumstance to point it out to other inquirers for such explanation as they may be able to offer. I have compared them with the neighbouring languages, the Maya and Musquito, and find them entirely distinct. I suspect they were in reality Carib, but incorrectly written down.

In conclusion, returning to the coincidences which have been laid before you, if it has been satisfactorily shewn you that there was a widely extended nation of savages in America of manifestly African origin, this fact must be acknowledged to be a warranty for the arguments being well founded, that the other nations of America had also originally proceeded from the other continents, in the same manner, at former periods. For the lower animals we may readily assent to the

doctrine of separate creations in different countries suited to their respective climates. When the earth was ordained to bring forth each living creature after its kind, it is an inference fairly allowable that it was a law of the God of nature, perhaps to be of long-continued operation, to suit such creatures to their peculiar localities, beyond which they could not live healthily. The phrase used in the Hebrew לְסִינָהּ, in our version translated "after its kind," seems to me rather to require the interpretation "according to her kind," as referring to the earth; and this explanation renders unnecessary any question as to how the animals found on the new continent came there, or how they proved to be of different species from those of the other continents. But to man was given a constitution fitted to endure every climate, with intelligence to provide for every want wherever his wishes or his requirements might lead him. With the command given him to replenish the earth and subdue it, the power to do so was also given, and it has been extended to the savage no less than to the civilized man. I concede the question to the advocates for distinct creations of "primitive men," to account for the difference of races, that if any such distinct creation could be supposed to have taken place anywhere, the American continent, so recently opened forth to our knowledge, with its multifarious varieties of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, might have been expected to present the most satisfactory traces or evidences of the fact. But when we find this new continent not only not offering us any such evidences, but the very contrary, and when we can so clearly shew it to have been peopled from the other parts of the world, we may unhesitatingly reject this doctrine as in reality inconsistent with facts and experience, and therefore as being unphilosophical, at the same time that it is at variance with our sacred records.

LINCOLN'S INN,

March 15, 1854.

QUESTION
OF THE
SUPPOSED LOST TRIBES
OF
ISRAEL.

A Paper read before Section E. of
THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION, AT LIVERPOOL,
The 26th Sept. 1854.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED
TWO APPENDICES,
I.—ON THE SIX DAYS OF THE CREATION.
II.—ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WORLD.

BY JAMES KENNEDY, ESQ., LL.B.,
LATE HER MAJESTY'S JUDGE IN THE MIXED COURT AT HAVANA.

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IN tracing the history of knowledge, it is astonishing to observe how many questions have been and continue to be generally accepted as indubitable truths, which reason and authority show to be groundless errors. On every side we find such errors prevailing; always much to be deplored as impeding the course of learning, but most so when from any cause they become mixed up with considerations entitled to our reverence, which appear to invest them with the same sacred character. To dispel such errors, or to establish a non-recognized truth, may be justly pronounced the most worthy tasks to be undertaken by those who aspire to become the advancers of general instruction. But this great object seems to be lost sight of by the larger portion of modern writers, who are too apt to be only constantly reproducing the lucubrations of their predecessors, or at best to be only stringing together a number of truisms, or it may be even of facts, without ever realizing a new idea, or deducing from them an original conclusion. Thus it is that we find so many fallacies prevailing, which being handed down from one writer to another, are accepted without examination and entertained without any doubt of their trustworthiness, notwithstanding they have in reality no foundation whatever for the theories formed respecting them.

In the history of the creation given us in the sacred Scrip-

tures, because the word in the Hebrew, יום, has unfortunately been translated 'day' in our version, instead of by some term equivalent to 'age' or 'period,' the generality of readers have become imbued with an almost ineradicable impression that the statements of the Mosaic history are contradictory to the discoveries of modern science. Though the same word is constantly used throughout other parts of the Scriptures for other or indefinite periods of time, and is so acknowledged to be by every writer on the subject worthy of notice, yet a prejudice has grown up to the contrary, on the assumption of this reading, of a nature to make even some of those writers to succumb to it, and thereupon to endeavour to reconcile facts with what is opposed both to the original history and to probability itself, by suppositions equally untenable.

Again, in the computation of the chronology of the world, or rather of the period of time that has elapsed since the creation of man, we find the system adopted in our common version of the Scriptures, repeated in every new edition of them, and referred to by writers generally as if it were incontrovertible, notwithstanding the labours of Dr. Hales and Bishop Russell especially, as well as of others, who have so satisfactorily refuted it, and shown how contrary it is to true history and to every conclusion of reason founded upon history.

It must be acknowledged, however, that there was at least some show of authority for these two prepossessions having taken such deep root in general belief. Unaided by the light of later science and modern researches, it was excusable for all the translators of the Scriptures, from those of the Septuagint downwards, to render the word יום by its primary meaning of 'day' in the history of the creation, though in many other parts they could not fail to understand it as bearing a larger signification. There was less excuse for the error relating to the chronology of the world, inasmuch as the Roman Catholic Church had rightly handed down from antiquity a correcter computation, in many particulars, which the mistaken zeal of our Reformers unfortunately repudiated; though even in their behalf it may be urged that their computation had the sanction of the Hebrew reading. But for another illusion as commonly received as either of these,

without any reason or authority in its favour, and to which I am not aware of any direct answer having been given, namely the supposed loss of the Ten Tribes of Israel, consequent upon their subjugation by the Assyrians, I now venture to request your attention.

The variety of theories which have been promulgated on the supposition of the loss of those ten tribes, and the numerous works which have been published on the subject, and continue to be published even up to the present time, show how great has been the interest felt regarding their fate, such as to warrant a fuller consideration of it than has been hitherto given ; while in the diversity of opinions held respecting it, we cannot but perceive the advisability of passing by all those opinions as mere assumptions, and of endeavouring to ascertain at their original sources the elucidation of their true history.

At the commencement of our æra, it seems to have already become a prevalent opinion that the ten tribes of Israel, which had separated from their brethren under Jeroboam, and had subsequently been subjugated by the Assyrians, had all been swept away from their lands and taken by their conquerors into Assyria and Media, where their descendants were then still remaining. Josephus, who is considered to have written his work on the ancient history of the Jews about the year 93 of our æra, says, in his eleventh book, with reference to the return from captivity of those who came back with Ezra, "The entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country, wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while the ten tribes are beyond the Euphrates till now, and are an immense multitude, not to be estimated by numbers." To the same effect St. Jerome in the fifth century, in his notes upon Hosea, says, "Unto this day the ten tribes are subject to the kings of the Parthians, nor has their captivity ever been loosed." And again he says, "The ten tribes inhabit at this day the cities and mountains of the Medes." It is the purpose of our argument to show that these writers were mistaken in their suppositions respecting these tribes, whatever might be the general value to be attached to their authority ; but at present it will be sufficient to refer to them, as proving that in the early periods of our

æra, they were considered to be still remaining in the land of their captivity. Later writers, however, and especially those of the Jewish race, not contented with this tradition, have been pleased to indulge in more fanciful dreams of those tribes having, at some anterior but undefined period, gone away from their captivity into some distant country, whence they declared they were to emerge at some future period, at the advent of their still-expected Messiah, and return with him triumphantly to the land of their fathers. This rabbinical fancy might have slumbered unnoticed, with so many others of the same character in their writings, had it not received an extraordinary occasion for its revival on the discovery of America by Columbus. At this time, when public attention began to be attracted to the inhabitants of the New World, among other theories to account for their origin, one was started by a Jewish writer, in conformity with this rabbinical tradition, that they were the descendants of the ten lost tribes who had gone away from their captivity into a distant country. The authority for this tradition was assumed to have been sufficiently decided from a passage in the 13th chapter of the first book of Esdras, upon which foundation accordingly volumes have been written, attempting to show that the American Indians were the descendants of those tribes. The elaborate and costly work of Lord Kingsborough had for its groundwork the attempt to show that those tribes had found their way to Mexico and Central America, though by what means it was left unexplained, while Adair and others have exercised equal ingenuity in claiming the honour of such a descent for the rude hunters of North America. William Penn fancied he could trace the Jewish features and other characteristics in the Indians with whom he conversed; and others, even to our day, persist in the same persuasion of their being of Jewish descent. But the utmost they can bring forward in favour of their ideas, are some trivial resemblances only, which are common to mankind generally, without being able to show any real coincidences whatever of any peculiar nature between those nations of America and the Israelites, in language, civil or religious institutions, social habits, or physical characteristics; while in all these parti-

culars abundant evidences may be adduced of their affinity to other nations of the globe, from whom therefore their origin may more justly be traced.

By the side of this fantasy, another scarcely less ill-founded has been suggested, that the people known to us as Afghans are the representatives of the ten tribes; and this theory has been received with a degree of favour, which entitles it, if on that ground alone, to our consideration. The first who suggested it seems to have been Sir William Jones; and the fact of so distinguished a scholar having indulged in such a supposition as that the ten tribes had really gone away from the land of their captivity into some unknown region, on the authority of the book of Esdras, is a proof of how great has been the credence given to this tradition, and how much it requires a detailed confutation. Since his day, numerous other writers have adopted the same theory for the descent of the Afghans; Sir George Rose having advocated it within the last two years in a pamphlet which has been lauded in the 'Quarterly Review,' and enlarged upon in another work by the Rev. C. Forster, so as to give it a support which forbids our passing it over cursorily.

The arguments advanced by these writers in favour of their views are founded on the traditions of the Afghans, on their Jewish physiognomy, and a fancied resemblance of names among them to those of the ancient Israelites. But the Jewish physiognomy and Jewish names are common all over the East, among the Arabs and other cognate nations, and among Mahomedan as well as among many Christian tribes and professed Jews, so that no satisfactory conclusion can be admitted on such grounds. It may be undoubtedly true that some tribe or family may be found among the Afghans calling themselves by the name of Joseph, or of one similar to that of Simeon, without however affording any rational argument to prove they are the representatives of those tribes of Israel. Yet it is upon these grounds alone that the advocates of the Afghan theory have relied for the establishment of their hypothesis; and it is fortunate therefore for us, in the assertion of a contrary opinion, to be able to trace those two particular

tribes, more especially returned to their own land, among the rest of their nation.

With regard to traditions among the Afghans, if they are at all to be relied on, we are informed that they declare themselves to be descended from a certain Afghana, who they say was a son of King Saul, and therefore of the tribe of Benjamin, and that their ancestors were taken away captives from Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. Such a tradition is entirely unworthy of attention; but the reasoning upon it, that it shows an Israelitish descent, only mistaken in its particular statement, is a conclusion, however ingeniously argued, that can as little be allowed. If traditions are at all admissible, the modern Samaritans, or Sichemites, have a still better claim to this descent, as, according to Basnage, they held themselves to be "of the tribe of Joseph, by Ephraim and Manasseh, and of the tribe of Levi;" and it should be remembered, that among the ancient Israelites the name of the tribe of Joseph had been merged in Ephraim and Manasseh, so as to have become obsolete at the time of the captivity.

But all arguments on the claim of the Afghans to this descent may be dispensed with in consideration of their real history. Our most eminent modern orientalists, Mountstuart Elphinstone and the late Mr. T. M. Dickinson (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. iv. p. 246), reject it; and from Lieutenant Leech's valuable vocabulary of the languages west of the Indus (*Proceedings of the Bombay Geographical Society* for 1838), we learn that the Afghans were "originally a Turkish or Moghal nation, but that at present they are a mixed race, consisting of the inhabitants of Ghaur, the Turkish tribe of Khilji, and the Perso-Indian tribes dwelling between the eastern branches of the Hindu Kush and the upper parts of the Indus." Respecting the tribe of Joseph, noticed among them, we are expressly informed that they have been settled only about 300 years on the upper parts of the Indus, having been originally emigrants from the country of the Beluches, about Kelati Nassir. If therefore this tribe or family of Joseph are descendants of the Israelitish tribe, all those cognate people above-mentioned must be entitled to the same

distinction also, though their traditions, appellations, manners, and institutions afford decided proofs to the contrary. In respect of language, we find that this Afghan tribe of Joseph shows no affinity to the Hebrew ; but, as might be expected from their historical origin, it is "a dialect of Hindee, containing Sanscrit and Persian words." Under these circumstances we may unhesitatingly pronounce the hypothesis of the Afghans being descendants of the ten tribes of Israel, to be little more feasible than that propounded of the Americans.

Other writers, Buchanan, Wolff, Samuel, the American missionary Grant, and others, have offered other suppositions as to the localities in which the lost tribes may be traced. But if the arguments herein suggested of their real history be well-founded, it will be quite unnecessary to enter into any lengthened discussion as to their respective theories, inasmuch as before they are entered upon, the basis of the inquiry should be first determined, whether these tribes can be said to have ever been lost at all ! The tradition that they had gone bodily into some distant and unknown region, has been so generally and so unhesitatingly admitted by grave historians, philosophers and divines, as well as by speculative theorists, that it seems scarcely necessary to quote evidences of such hallucinations, though the facts must in fairness be stated which are intended to be questioned.

Turner, in his 'Sacred History of the World,' says, "From this time we hear no more of the ten tribes, nor is it known whether any of their descendants are in the world at present, though it is thought by many that there is a remnant in some region yet unvisited." (Vol. iii. p. 430.)

Milman, in his 'History of the Jews,' writes, "From this period history loses sight of the ten tribes as a distinct people. Prideaux supposes they were totally lost and absorbed in the nations among whom they settled ; but imagination has loved to follow them into remote and inaccessible regions, where it is supposed they still await the restoration of the twelve tribes to their native land ; or it has traced the Jewish features, language, and religion in different tribes, particularly in the Afghans of India, and, in a still wilder spirit of romance, in the (aboriginal) Americans." (Vol. i. p. 247.)

The American missionary Grant, in his 'Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes,' to which we may afterwards revert, says, "We shall not be expected to attempt a refutation of these various theories, none of which have been supported by sufficient evidence to produce anything like a general conviction in their favour. The ten tribes of Israel are still as really the lost tribes as they ever have been." (P. 105.)

Our last quotation on this point shall be from the Rev. C. Forster's imaginative work, 'The One Primæval Language,' in which he gives also a 'New Key for the Recovery of the Lost Ten Tribes,' prefacing it by observing, "The most interesting problem in the history of the world, as yet unsolved, unquestionably is the national existence and local habitation of the lost ten tribes of Israel. The fact of their existence indeed stands certified by the sure word of prophecy; but the place or places of their banishment have been so long buried in the womb of time, that all efforts heretofore have seemed labour in vain to draw them from their living tomb." (Vol. iii. p. 238.)

These references, which might easily be extended to the proportions of a volume, will suffice to show how general has been the belief of the ten tribes having become lost, and how varied and fanciful have been the theories held respecting them. For the supposition of such a loss, and the theories advanced for their discovery, the whole groundwork and authority has been a passage in the Apocryphal work named Esdras, chapter 13 of the 2nd book, in which the writer says he "dreamed a dream," part of which was interpreted to him as follows: "And whereas thou sawest that he gathered another peaceable multitude unto him; those are the ten tribes which were carried away prisoners out of their own land in the time of Osea the king, whom Salmanassar the King of Assyria led away captive, and he carried them over the waters, and so came they into another land. But they took this counsel among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a further country where never mankind dwelt; that they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land. And they entered into Euphrates by the narrow passages of the river. For

the Most High then showed signs for them, and held still the flood till they were passed over. For through that country there was a great way to go, namely of a year and a half, and the same region is called Arsareth. Then dwelt they there until the latter time, and now when they shall begin to come, the Highest shall stay the springs of the stream again, that they may go through; therefore sawest thou the multitude with peace."

This narrative, therefore, precise as it appears to be in its details, is nevertheless given avowedly only as the interpretation of a dream, and not as an actual occurrence. Yet, such as it is, this is all the groundwork of authority upon which so many theories have been formed as to the fate of the ten tribes, thereon alleged to have been lost. Supposing, however, that it is not to be considered as of the nature of a vision, but given historically, as Sir William Jones and others have thought proper to receive it, the first question arising on the consideration of such an extraordinary isolated narrative would be, the credit due to it, as determinable from the character of the work in which it was found, or the probabilities of truth apparent in the narrative itself. With regard to the former point of estimate, the character of the work, this book of Esdras may certainly be pronounced to be as worthless as any in the Apocryphal collection. It is evidently of very late compilation, for it speaks of Jesus Christ (ch. viii. 28-9); and the learned Dean Prideaux, in his inestimable work, 'The Old and New Testament Connected,' rightly designates it as "a bundle of fables, too absurd for the belief of the Romanists themselves, for they have not taken this book into their canon, though they have those of Tobit and of Bel and the Dragon." (Sub ann. A.C. 610 and A.C. 446.)

Nor is the narrative trustworthy in itself, judging from any inherent probability we can allow it to possess. Even if we could suppose that a people so prone to idolatry as the Israelites had been in their own land, and separated for so many generations from the more systematic observance of the Law at Jerusalem, should, upon being carried away captives into a foreign country, become all at once so zealous for that law as to leave the multitude of the heathen and go forth

into a further country where never mankind dwelt, that they might there keep their statutes, which it is with great simplicity acknowledged they never kept in their own land, we may next ask, How can we conceive it probable that captives, scattered among their conquerors, should have freedom of action enough allowed them, either to take such counsel among themselves, or, at any rate, to put it into effect?

The narrative further implies, if it is really to be taken as historically true, that the Most High was pleased to show wonders on the behalf of these ten tribes in their resolves, similar to those manifested on the delivery of their fathers from Egypt. But if such manifestations had in truth been afforded them, we might surely expect that some further narration of them would have been given us, such as that which was given by Moses; and the fact that we have no such narration, is of itself a sufficient argument against the probability of the supposed occurrence.

We have not, however, to rely on any mere supposition to dispute the credit due to this interpretation of the dream, inasmuch as the whole tenor of Scriptural, Apocryphal, and other history will be found to supply us with abundant proofs of its being altogether visionary.

From the Scriptures themselves we learn it was ordained, 1st, That after the period allotted for the captivity of Judah, the whole or main body of the Israelites should return into their own land; and, 2nd, That they should return as one people, with the old distinction of tribes in a great measure done away with. This is evident from the whole course of prophecy respecting them, fulfilled as it was in their subsequent history.

In the 37th chapter of Ezekiel, written in the province of Babylon, it is expressly declared, "Moreover, thou Son of Man, take thee one stick and write upon it, For Judah, and for the children of Israel his companions; then take another stick and write upon it, For Joseph, the stick of Ephraim, and for *all the house* of Israel his companions; and join them one to another into one stick, and they shall become one in thine hand. And when the children of thy people shall speak unto thee, saying, Wilt thou not show us what thou

meanest by these? Say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will take the stick of Joseph, which is in the hand of Ephraim, and the tribes of Israel his fellows, and will put them with the stick of Judah, and make them one stick, and they shall be one in mine hand. And say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, *whither they be gone*, and will gather them on every side and bring them into their own land; and I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountains of Israel, and one king shall be king to them all; and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all."

The above prophecy was declared after the Babylonian captivity, and the expression, "I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, *whither they be gone*," shows clearly that it had reference to that same captivity, and to the restoration which followed so shortly after. Isaiah prophesied upwards of one hundred years before the Babylonian captivity, and he repeats the same declaration in the 11th chapter: "And He shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. The envy of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off; Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim." The whole chapter is deeply instructive, as it shows throughout a reference to the captivity which the Israelites were then actually suffering in Assyria: "And it shall come to pass in that day, the Lord shall set his hand again the *second* time to recover the remnant of his people which shall be left, from ASSYRIA and from Egypt," &c. And again, "And there shall be an highway for the remnant of His people which shall be left, from ASSYRIA; like as it was to Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt." Here, then, the repeated mention of Assyria with Edom, Moab, and the children of Ammon, combined with our knowledge of subsequent events, must show clearly that these predictions referred to the state of Judæa after the return from captivity, when the Israelites enjoyed, under their own princes, for

nearly five centuries, a degree of liberty and quietude possessed by perhaps no other nation in the world at the time.

The prophet Hosea was contemporary with Isaiah, long before the Babylonian captivity, and he declared the will of the Almighty to the same effect, chap. i.: "Then shall the children of Judah and the children of Israel be gathered together, and appoint themselves one head, and they shall come up out of the land; for great shall be the day of Jezreel." To the same effect prophesied Jeremiah, long after, at the time of the Babylonian invasion, chap. iii.: "In those days the house of Judah shall walk with the house of Israel, and *they shall come together out of the land of the north to the land that I have given for an inheritance unto your fathers.*"

Not to multiply quotations at present unnecessarily which may hereafter be more fully noticed, these references will be sufficient to show that it was ordained for the Israelites of the ten revolted tribes, as well as for their brethren of Judah, to return "from the land of the heathen, whither they had gone," at the time of the prediction. The exact fulfilment of the prophecy in the subsequent history of the people proves that it was declared with reference to the return from captivity under the decrees of Cyrus and his successors, and not to any yet unfulfilled events in the course of futurity, as has been taken for granted by those who have supposed the ten tribes lost at that time. When we can show so decidedly that they were fulfilled in the course of subsequent events, we can have no hesitation in pronouncing them to be applicable to that restoration; and, therefore, having been fulfilled, we ought not now to consider them connected with any future contingencies.

The prophets above referred to all lived long before the return of the Israelites from captivity; but there was one other, who lived contemporary with the return, to whose writings, therefore, it is most important that we should look, for an exact understanding of the events to which the former prophecies, as well as his own, referred. The decree of Cyrus for the return of the Israelites to Jerusalem was issued in the year 536 B.C., and it was confirmed by one of Darius

in the early part of his reign, which commenced fifteen years after the first-mentioned decree. In the second year of Darius came the word of the Lord to Zechariah, encouraging the people to proceed with the rebuilding of the temple, and repeating the former promises to strengthen them in their work, by the hopes and prospects of their approaching consummation. In the 8th chapter then, we find the prophet commissioned to say, "Thus saith the Lord God, I am returned unto Zion, and will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem. . . . Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, Behold, I will save my people from the east country and the west country, and I will bring them, and they shall dwell in the midst of Jerusalem. . . . And it shall come to pass, that as ye were a curse among the heathen, O house of Judah and house of Israel, so will I save you, and ye shall be a blessing." Here the house of Judah and house of Israel are so expressly joined together, as to prove the passages referred to the time and events then passing as the accomplishment of former prophecies. Other passages following carry out a fuller proof of this ordinance intended. In the 10th chapter we find the same declarations continued: "And I will strengthen the house of Judah, and I will save the house of Joseph, and I will bring them to place them; for I have mercy upon them, and they shall be as though I had not cast them off. . . . And I will bring them again also out of the land of Egypt, and *gather them out of Assyria*; and I will bring them into the land of Gilead and Lebanon, and place shall not be found for them." Now as in this verse the mention of Egypt must refer to the migration of those who fled thither after the murder of Gedaliah, narrated in the last chapter of the 2nd book of Kings, ("And all the people, both small and great, and the captains and the armies, arose and came to Egypt, for they were afraid of the Chaldeans,") so the mention of Assyria must also refer to those captives taken away by the Assyrians, namely those of the ten tribes. The evident meaning is, that all should return, from the first of those who had gone away under the Assyrian subjugation to the last of those under the Babylonian, so that the predictions included them all.

If, however, there can be any doubt remaining on the subject, and if these passages be not sufficiently convincing as to the real intention of the prophetic declarations bearing on the events then in course of fulfilment, we have only to turn to the 9th chapter as conclusive, 12th verse: "Turn you to the stronghold, ye prisoners of hope; even to-day do I declare that I will render double unto thee. When I have bent Judah for me, filled the bow with Ephraim, and raised up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece, and made thee as the sword of a mighty man." Can there, we may repeat it, be any doubt as to these passages joining Judah and Ephraim together with Zion specifically against Greece by name, referring distinctly to the wars of the Maccabees especially, and to the other contests of the people of God with the successors of Alexander? Can there be any doubt that the former predictions were then fulfilled, which promised the children of Judah and the children of Israel should return together, and appoint to themselves one head, and be no more two nations, nor be divided into two kingdoms any more at all?

Such are the conclusions fairly deducible from the whole tenor of the prophetic declarations; but it is not upon them alone that we have to depend for the elucidation of this question. In the historical and other parts of the Scriptures, agreeing with the prophets, we have abundant evidences of the predictions having been fulfilled. In Ezra we have the circumstances of the return of the Israelites to the Holy Land historically detailed, and from it we learn that Cyrus, in the first year of his reign, 536 B.C., "made a proclamation throughout *all* his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem. Who is there among you of *all* his people? His God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel." From the terms of this proclamation, it is clear that the privilege granted to return to Judæa was not restricted to the children of the captivity at Babylon, but extended throughout all the kingdom, to all the people who

chose to avail themselves of it. Of these the narrative proceeds to say, "Then rose up the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests and the Levites, with *all* them whose spirit God had raised to go up to build the house of the Lord." It was naturally to be supposed that the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests and the Levites, should take the lead on such an occasion; but of those who went up with them, we cannot conclude from the enumeration by their families that they were confined to the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi only.

The second chapter of Ezra begins with reciting the names "of the children of the province that went up out of the captivity," and then gives the general enumeration (ver. 2) of "the number of the men of *the people of Israel*," as "the children of Parosh 2172, the children of Shephatiah 372," and others. Some of these names—Parosh, Shephatiah, Arah, Pahath Moab, Elam, and the rest,—seem certainly to have been names of individuals, but the larger portion seems rather to have been names of places, principally of Judah and Benjamin, though some we might trace beyond the boundaries of those tribes. Where, however, it must be almost entirely a conjecture, it would be perhaps not only futile, but also a weakening of the argument, to attempt to identify any of these names with the ancient names of places or families, and therefore we may proceed at once to observe, that at verse 59 it is stated, there were some claiming to be Israelites who could not even "show their father's house, and their seed, whether they were of Israel," and yet they were not rejected on that account, except as from the priesthood. If they had been captives of the Babylonians within seventy years previously, they could scarcely have failed in being able to show their father's house; but if they were of the Assyrian captivity, which was 150 years previous to the Babylonian, it was extremely probable that after the lapse of upwards of two hundred years, many would have been found unable to do so, though they might have been unquestionably what they claimed to be—of the seed of Israel. Maimonides, a writer of the highest authority among the Jews, distinctly states that "from the time of Sennacherib the distinction of tribes and families no longer

existed" (quoted by the Rev. J. Samuel in 'The Remnant Found,' page 23), and this is strictly in accordance with probability in the case of people taken away captives and dispersed among their conquerors. On the same ground we may suppose that the classifying of those who came back, not by their tribes, but apparently by the places from which they or their fathers came in the Holy Land, as Parosh, Arah, Pahath Moab, Elam, Senaah and others, would imply that with them also the original distinction of tribes had fallen into disuse.

One of the most remarkable circumstances to be noted in the book of Ezra is, that notwithstanding the total separation of the people before the Assyrian captivity into two distinct kingdoms, during the existence of which two distinct kingdoms the revolted tribes alone were designated as Israelites, and the other two tribes as the people of Judah, yet immediately afterwards the people collectively are called by the former name of Israelites only. If those who returned from the captivity were peculiarly of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin with the Levites, this designation could scarcely have been applied to them contrary to the former practice, without at least some passing remark. But if it pleased the Almighty, as declared by the prophet Micah, who lived in the reign of Hezekiah, 150 years before the Babylonian captivity, to bring all together to their ancient habitations, then the phrase became justly applicable to the people as representatives of all the tribes. "I will surely assemble, O Jacob, all of thee; I will surely gather the remnant of Israel; I will put them together as the sheep of Bozrah, as the flock in the midst of the fold." (Micah, ii. ver. 12.) Many years afterwards the people became known as Jews, as being inhabitants of Judæa, collectively, from this name of the principal tribe among them, though the name was also sometimes applied to the people of Judah before the captivity. But on this very account it becomes the more remarkable, that immediately afterwards they should have lost this name, and should be always designated by the peculiar appellation of those who had revolted from them. Unless therefore a large portion of the Israelites of the revolted tribes had joined themselves anew to their brethren of Judah, and so have rendered it peculiarly just for the

general name to be resumed, we can scarcely expect that it would have been done; we might rather have expected that the exclusive appellation of Jews, by which they had been known in the time of Hezekiah, and were known again in the time of our Saviour, would have been commonly adopted.

In accordance further with the assumption that hereafter all the tribes were to be amalgamated as one people, we find the records of the people after the subjugation of Samaria by the Assyrians, so far as they are specifically detailed, giving us incidental notices of other tribes besides those of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi, both before the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and after their general return under Cyrus and his successors.

Of the numbers led away captive by the Assyrians we have no distinct accounts, but learn that Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, "went up to Samaria and besieged it three years. In the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" (2 Kings, xvii. ver. 6). During the three years of siege, the country must have become exceedingly desolated, so that when Shalmaneser took away his captives, who were probably those taken in arms and the principal inhabitants, he found it advisable to bring men from Babylon and other localities, and place them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel. This however he may be supposed to have done for the purpose of giving the land a more tractable population, or for the purpose of restoring it from the ravages of famine and the other consequences of war and the sword, as much as to replace those taken away. From other parts of the sacred history it is clear that a large portion of the people of Israel were left behind, and therefore we must conclude that when it is said "Israel was carried away," it is to be understood in general terms of the principal persons, and not of the main body of the people.

Samaria, as above stated, was taken by Shalmaneser in the ninth year of Hoshea, which was the sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah (2 Kings, xviii. ver. 10). It must have been after this event, and in apprehension of a like

fate impending over Judah, that Hezekiah took counsel of his princes and all the congregation to keep a solemn passover (2 Chron. xxx. ver. 2). He then "sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh that they should come to the house of the Lord at Jerusalem to keep the passover." From this and the following verses it is apparent that a considerable portion of the people of Israel had been left behind by the Assyrians, and we may conclude even the larger portion of them. For the narrative proceeds to state, "So they established a decree to make proclamation *throughout all Israel*, from Beersheba even unto Dan, that they should come to keep the passover at Jerusalem. So the posts went with the letters from the king and his princes *throughout all Israel and Judah*; and according to the commandment of the king, saying, Ye children of Israel, turn again unto the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, and he will return to the *remnant of you that are escaped out of the hand of the kings of Assyria*." This address then to those escaped out of the hand of the kings of Assyria, issued throughout all Israel from Beersheba to Dan, proves incontestably that all Israel had not been swept away by the Assyrians after the taking of Samaria, but that a considerable remnant had been able to escape from the captivity and remain in their own land. This is still more evident from what follows. The exact year of Hezekiah's reign in which this solemn passover was kept is not stated; but it was probably before the fourteenth year, inasmuch as it was then that Sennacherib came up against all the fenced cities of Judah and took them (2 Kings, xviii. ver. 13), which event is narrated after the particulars of this solemn assembly. Of this we are further informed: "So the posts passed from city to city through the country of Ephraim and Manasseh, even unto Zebulon, but they laughed them to scorn and mocked them. Nevertheless divers of Asher, and of Manasseh, and of Zebulon humbled themselves and came to Jerusalem. And there assembled at Jerusalem *much people* to keep the feast of unleavened bread in the second month, *a very great congregation*" (2 Chron. xxx. vv. 10-13). In the eighteenth verse we read still further, "A multitude of the people, even many

of Ephraim and Manasseh, Issachar and Zebulon, had not cleansed themselves, yet did they eat the passover otherwise than was written. But Hezekiah prayed for them, and the Lord hearkened to Hezekiah and healed the people."

From these passages it is indubitable that even immediately after Israel is said to have been carried away captive by the Assyrians, there was still a large remnant of them left in their own land, among whom we have particularly specified six out of the ten tribes, namely Dan, Ephraim, Manasseh, Asher, Issachar, and Zebulon, which tribes at least may therefore be presumed to have been mainly left to become amalgamated with those of Judah and Benjamin.

The beneficial attempts of Hezekiah to reclaim the revolted tribes from the worship of idols, were resumed by his great-grandson Josiah. This pious prince began to reign when he was eight years old, and in the twelfth year of his reign "he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places, and the groves, and the carved images, and the molten images" (2 Chron. xxxiv. ver. 3). "And so did he in the cities of Manasseh and Ephraim and Simeon, even unto Naphthali, with their mattocks round about. And when he had broken down the altars and the groves, and had beaten the graven images into powder, and cut down all the idols *throughout all the land of Israel*, he returned to Jerusalem" (ver. 6, 7). This was in the twelfth year of his reign, and the narrative proceeds, "Now in the eighteenth year of his reign, when he had purged the land and the house, he sent Shaphan and others to repair the house of the Lord his God. And when they came to Hilkiah the high priest, they delivered the money that was brought into the house of God, which the Levites that kept the doors had gathered of the hand of Manasseh and Ephraim, and *of all the remnant of Israel*, and of all Judah and Benjamin."

In the same year Josiah kept another passover, like that ordained by Hezekiah; for it is said (chap. xxxv. ver. 18), "There was no passover like to that kept in Israel from the days of Samuel the prophet; neither did all the kings of Israel keep such a passover as Josiah kept, and the priests, and the Levites, and all Judah and Israel that were present,

and the inhabitants of Jerusalem." Here then again we find the people of the ten tribes contradistinguished from those of Judah, specifically mentioned as joining in the worship of God, nearly 100 years after the Assyrian captivity, and acknowledging the king of Judah as their natural head. For we are told in sequence of his acts (2 Chron. xxxiv. ver. 33), "And Josiah took away all the abominations out of all the countries that pertained to the children of Israel, and made all that were present in Israel to serve, even to serve the Lord their God. And all his days they departed not from following the Lord, the God of their fathers."

In the above-cited passages then, in addition to the tribes of Dan, Ephraim, Manasseh, Asher, Zebulon and Issachar, previously proved to have had a large remnant left in their own land after the Assyrian captivity, we have now two other tribes mentioned, Simeon and Naphthali, as in like manner not all carried away, the one being in the north-east extremity of Palestine, as the other was placed in the south-west. This one of Simeon, being in the south-west, was peculiarly far removed from the ravages of the Assyrians, who, coming from the north or north-east, fell undoubtedly most furiously on the tribes of the frontiers, Naphthali, and those on the other side of the Jordan, namely Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh. In the inroad made by the Assyrians under Tiglath-Pilneser, we are told they "took Ijon and Abel-beth-maachah and Janoah and Kedesh and Hazor and Gilead and Galilee, all the land of Naphthali, and carried them captive to Assyria." (2 Kings xv. v. 29.) Yet even under the belief of these tribes having suffered very severely more than the others, it appears from Josiah having thus exercised his superintendence over all Israel, in "the cities of Manasseh and Ephraim and Simeon, even unto Naphthali," that there were still large bodies of the people of those tribes remaining, and inhabiting their cities in their own land, after the Assyrians had wasted their country and carried away captive a number of their brethren. If therefore the above inferences be correct, we have eight tribes out of the ten proved to have had a large portion remaining in their own land after the Assyrian captivity, among whom it is particularly de-

serving of notice are the tribes of Simeon, and of Ephraim and Manasseh.

Of all the theories put forward on the supposition of the ten tribes having been lost to history, that in support of the Afghans being their descendants has certainly met with most favour. For this the strongest argument adduced by its advocates is the similarity of names among this people to some among the ancient Israelites, as has been already stated; one tribe among the Afghans being now designated by themselves as the tribe of Joseph, and another by a name resembling that of Simeon. But these coincidences of names, we may repeat, in fact afford no proof of identity with the Israelites, as the names are common to all the Eastern nations, while we are thus fortunately able to show the futility of the supposition further by tracing the tribes of Joseph and Simeon in their own land more markedly than any of the others. The preceding evidences refer to the interval between the Assyrian captivity and the Babylonian. In that interval they are distinctly proved to have had a recognized existence in their own land, after the time that they are supposed to have been carried away captive, giving us reason to conclude that only a portion, and probably but a small portion, of their main body had been carried away. Our next task is to show the probability of even that portion which had been taken away, having returned with their brethren of Judah and Benjamin and Levi, upon the promulgation of the decrees of Cyrus and his successors in their favour.

When the Israelites, upon the promulgation of these decrees, returned from their captivity, one of the earliest cares of their leaders seems to have been to collect as correct a genealogy as they could of the several families. In this however it is clear, that they were obliged to be contented with very general statements, as not being able to prove distinct descents. The First Book of Chronicles has been always supposed to be of Ezra's compilation; and it was undoubtedly compiled, if not written, after the return from captivity. This book commences accordingly with long lists of genealogies, which led the writer or compiler to refer to events passing in his time. Referring then to the return from their captivity, he writes

in the 9th chapter, "So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies, and behold they were written in the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah, who were carried away to Babylon for their transgressions. Now the first inhabitants that dwelt in their possessions in their cities were the Israelites, the priests, Levites, and the Nethinims. And in Jerusalem dwelt of the children of Judah, and of the children of Benjamin, and *of the children of Ephraim and Manasseh.*" (v. 3.) Many of the names in the following verses are identical with those in Ezra and Nehemiah, as Sallu, the son of Meshullam, and others, showing they referred to the children of the captivity; and therefore we can have no hesitation in concluding from the passage above cited, that while the Israelites generally after their return were scattered abroad in their cities, Jerusalem itself was peopled by a mixture of the descendants, not only of Judah, but of a certain portion of the other tribes also, principally Benjamin, Ephraim and Manasseh. Of the other tribes of the Israelites we have no specific mention after the captivity, with one exception; but in direct opposition to the assumptions of those who imagine the Afghans to represent the tribes as lost, we are thus more particularly able to connect the tribes of Simeon and Joseph distinctly in their correct nomenclature of Ephraim and Manasseh, as above stated, with the restoration. The proofs in respect of the other tribe, that of Simeon, are still stronger; and in establishing them, therefore, we not only destroy the theory of their having to be found among the Afghans, but also raise a strong presumption of the probability of the other tribes having in like manner returned by the side of them.

Our argument is intended to show, that after the return from their captivity the different tribes amalgamated with Judah and Benjamin to form one people. From the above passage it is clear that Ephraim and Manasseh especially did so amalgamate, and therefore could not be included among those said to have wandered into unknown regions, and become lost to history. Still less can this be said of the Simeonites, of whom we have still later and fuller notices. In the 4th chapter of the 1st Book of Chronicles, which was certainly written or compiled long after the return from Babylon,

we find the acts of this tribe particularly detailed (v. 39 to 43): "And they (the Simeonites) went to the entrance of Gedor, to seek pasture for their flocks. And they found fat pasture and good, and the land was wide and quiet and peaceable, for they of Ham had dwelt there of old. And these written by name came in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, and smote their tents, and the habitations that were found there, and destroyed them utterly *unto this day*, and dwelt in their rooms. And some of them, even of the sons of Simeon, 500 men, went to Mount Seir; and they smote the rest of the Amalekites that were escaped, and dwelt there *unto this day*." Here then we have direct evidence of the Simeonites also remaining in their own land in the time of Ezra, or the compiler of the Books of Chronicles, long after the return from captivity, and 250 years after the common theories suppose them to have been all carried away by the Assyrians, to become one of the lost tribes of Israel. These however are not the only traces of the Simeonites to which true history may lead us, to save the trouble of seeking them among the Afghans or elsewhere, the which traces may be hereafter more appropriately detailed.

If we examine the narratives of the Assyrian conquests with precision, we cannot but conclude that they were only of partial effect, and fell chiefly on the border tribes of Naphthali and those on the east of the Jordan, namely the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh. These were the most exposed to attack and most easily removeable, so that they might be carried away more in a body, and thus be more likely to become permanently settled in the land of their captivity, as these last-mentioned tribes only are said to have been in the time of the compiler of the Chronicles. (1 Chron. v. ver. 26.) In this case, though the numbers are not in any way specified of those taken away captive, yet these might not have exceeded in any very considerable degree the numbers of those taken away from Jerusalem by the Babylonians. When taken away and distributed among the cities of Mesopotamia and Media, we cannot suppose the conquerors would have paid any regard to classifying them by their tribes, which would be keeping up distinctions such as no nation could

prudently permit among their captives. Their wisest policy would undoubtedly be to destroy every link of nationality which might keep them knitted together in bands dangerous to their masters. If these masters then really acted on this policy, it must be the extremest improbability to expect we should have had the captive Israelites remaining as distinct tribes, whether in the land of their captivity or elsewhere.

At the time of the Babylonian captivity, we are informed that the poor of the land were left to be vinedressers and husbandmen, and others escaped to them also afterwards of a higher class and in great numbers, over whom Gedaliah was appointed ruler: "Now when all the captains of the forces which were in the fields, even they and their men, heard that the King of Babylon had made Gedaliah governor in the land, then they came to Gedaliah to Mizpah; likewise all the Jews that were in Moab and among the Ammonites and in Edom returned out of all the countries whither they were driven, and came to the land of Judah." (Jeremiah, xl. v. 7 and 11.) At the same time great numbers must have perished by the concomitants of war, pestilence and famine, as well as by the sword, while those taken away were no doubt men taken in arms, with the principal persons and others available as slaves. Yet in the account given of the Babylonian conquests, we find fewer captives enumerated than we might have expected. In the 2nd Kings, ch. xxiv. v. 14, it is said that "Nebuchadnezzar carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes and all the mighty men of valour, *even ten thousand captives*, and all the craftsmen and smiths; none remained save the poorest sort of the people." Here then we find the general expression, in the usual style of eastern amplification, "all Jerusalem, and all the princes and all the mighty men of valour," to mean at the utmost only some ten thousand captives, with the craftsmen and smiths, who could not be very numerous, as added afterwards of less account.

The phrase, "even ten thousand captives," may however be itself considered a general expression, signifying only an indefinite large number. In the 52nd chapter of Jeremiah we have a more precise account of the numbers, v. 27 and following: "Thus Judah was carried away captive out of his

own land. This is the people whom Nebuchadnezzar carried away captive, in the seventh year, three thousand Jews and three and twenty. In the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar he carried away captive from Jerusalem eight hundred thirty and two persons. In the three and twentieth year of Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuzaradan, the captain of the guard, carried away captive of the Jews seven hundred forty and five persons; all the persons were four thousand and six hundred." So far from ten thousand therefore having been carried away in the first subjugation, there does not appear, according to this particular detail, to have been half that number altogether in all the invasions of Judæa carried away by the Babylonians; and yet it is described in the eastern style of amplification, "thus Judah was carried away captive out of his own land."

As however the number of 10,000 captives is stated to have been carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, though at variance with the more precise account of the contemporary writer, probably Baruch, as above cited, we may, for the sake of the argument, allow that double that number might have been carried away altogether by the Babylonians, or about 20,000 captives. When we consider the great difficulty that exists in providing for large bodies of people traversing any considerable space of country desolated by war, the above estimate may be fairly allowed as the utmost that can be reasonably assumed. When Ezra came back from Babylon with fewer than 4000 souls with him, under the most favourable circumstances, he was four months engaged in the journey; and a large army returning with so many as 10,000 captives must have taken a still longer time, and had to encounter many difficulties, which would cause great numbers to perish.

For the Israelites taken away by the Assyrians, of whom no particular numbers are recorded, we may take the above numbers as a criterion whereby to judge of their probable amount. As the people of the ten tribes were more numerous than their brethren of Judah, we may suppose double the number of them to have been carried away, or 40,000, making 60,000 captives altogether to have been carried away by the Assyrians and Babylonians. But 60,000 captives, or double that number, would be only an inconsiderable portion of the

people of Samaria and Judæa, even after they had been subjected to the evils of war, pestilence, and famine for a long succession of years. Still a large remnant of them would be left, as we know a large remnant was left, which no conqueror could carry away. These would then form the main body of the nation ; and if to these a large body, the majority probably of those carried away, or rather of their descendants, actually did return, we may presume justly that the predictions were then fulfilled which promised them restoration to their former possessions as one people.

Even before the Babylonian captivity, we learn from the book of Judith, that considerable numbers of those taken away by the Assyrians had returned to their own land (ch. iv. v. 3) ; and it is but reasonable to suppose that all the captives would be glad to seize every opportunity of escaping from bondage and return to their kindred. As captives in a foreign land, their condition must have been very deplorable. They who "sat down by the waters of Babylon and wept," suffered only the same lot of bitterness to which their brethren at Nineveh had been subjected ; and how grievous this was we have abundant evidences in the denunciations of the prophets to show us. When, therefore, under Cyrus and his successors, the Israelites all received not only permission, but encouragement and rewards even, to return, we may be assured that all the survivors would hasten to avail themselves of a boon extended to them with such extraordinary liberality. The "prisoners of hope," as the prophet Zechariah termed the captives, who had been promised for themselves and their children that "the Assyrian should be beaten down," that he should "fall with the sword," and they "should come who were ready to perish in the land of Assyria," could not fail to see in the downfall of their oppressors, and this monarch's liberality towards them, the fulfilment of the promised mercies. They could not fail to see then prepared the promised "highway for the remnant of the people which should be left from Assyria," "when the ransomed of the Lord should return and come to Zion with songs," and "the children of Israel be gathered one by one." (Isaiah xxxvii. v. 12.) This promise of restoration was not made to the captives of Judah,

for Isaiah lived 140 years before the Babylonian captivity; and even after this event the promises of restoration were addressed by Jeremiah to "all the families of the house of Israel" conjointly. When therefore the promises were fulfilled with regard to Judah, it cannot be supposed that another fate and a longer captivity was reserved for the others.

The people carried away captive, both of Judah and Israel, were, as we have contended, only the principal personages of the land, who had led the people generally into idolatry, and into adopting the sinful practices of the heathen. These were then punished for their idolatry and sins, and were probably cut off in the course of the war or the subsequent captivity, until at length only the remnant was left, to whom the Almighty was pleased to show mercy and grant restoration to the land of their fathers. "Israel is a scattered sheep; first the King of Assyria hath devoured him, and last this Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, hath broken his bones. Therefore thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, Behold I will punish the King of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the King of Assyria. And I will bring Israel again to his habitation, and he shall feed on Carmel and Bashan, and his soul shall be satisfied upon Mount Ephraim and Gilead. In those days and in that time, saith the Lord, the iniquity of Israel shall be sought for, and there shall be none, and the sins of Judah, and they shall not be found, for I will *pardon them whom I reserve.*" (Jeremiah, ch. l. v. 17-20.) In a few verses previously the same prophet declared, "In those days and in that time, saith the Lord, the children of Israel shall come, they and the children of Judah together, going and weeping; they shall go, and seek the Lord their God." (v. 4.)

If it be asked to what days and to what time this and the other prophecies can be positively shown to refer, we have only to examine the context of the two verses immediately preceding: "Declare ye among the nations, Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces; for out of the north there cometh up a mighty nation against her, which shall make her land desolate, and none shall dwell therein; they shall depart both man and beast." And then immediately follows, "In those days and in that time, saith the Lord, the

children of Israel shall come, they and the children of Judah together." Here then it is expressly stated, that the restoration of all the Israelites should take effect on the destruction of Babylon, as all the other prophetic declarations also pointed clearly to an early fulfilment. None of them will in any wise admit the construction put on them by the rabbinical writers originally, of being indefinitely protracted with regard to Israel, as would be the case if the prophecies were yet unfulfilled.

Whatever might be the worldly motives of Cyrus in releasing the captives, whether it was for any assistance afforded him in his conquests, or to weaken the provinces of Babylon and Assyria, or to strengthen the frontiers of his new kingdoms, it is certain that he extended to them extraordinary favours. In his reign, and also under his successors in carrying out the same policy, were then fulfilled the promises made to the Israelites by the mouth of Isaiah long before the Babylonian captivity: "They shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders; and kings shall be thy nursing fathers and their queens thy nursing mothers." (Ch. xlix. v. 22.) Thus unrestricted permission was given to all the Israelites throughout all the Persian dominions to return. Their sacred vessels were restored to them, they had ample means granted them to proceed happily on their way, and every facility to rebuild their cities and their temple. Under such circumstances we cannot but suppose that there would be very few indeed who would not avail themselves of the favour shown them. Of those who were carried away, the greater portion no doubt consisted of males, and consequently their numbers would not increase very considerably in their state of bondage. Baruch, in his prayer at Babylon, says, "Let thy wrath turn from us; for we are but a few left among the heathen, where thou hast scattered us." (Ch. ii. v. 13.) And he refers to the threat long before expressed by Moses as then fulfilled: "If ye will not hear my voice, surely this very great multitude shall be turned into a small number among the nations where I will scatter them." (v. 29.) Though still many thousands in number then, the captives were yet nevertheless few in proportion to what

they might have been under other circumstances, and this consideration must be taken into account when estimating the relative numbers of those who were carried away and of those who returned.

Bearing then in mind that the numbers of one captivity alone are given as 10,000 captives, and taking that as a criterion by which to judge of the extent of the others, we may compare the number of those carried away and of those who returned as nearly equal, showing therefore that the great majority of the true Israelites must have then actually returned to their own land. When they were enumerated on the occasion of the first return under Zerubbabel, we learn "that the whole congregation together was 42,360, besides their servants and their maids, of whom there were 7337." (Ezra, ii. ver. 64.) In this passage it is not clear whether the "whole congregation" included the males only, or the whole population. Josephus gives the numbers of males and females separately, though the eleventh book of his work, in which this narrative is contained, may be considered of doubtful authenticity. It seems to bear evident traces of having been wrongly dealt with, as it contains much apocryphal matter, and in more than one respect is inconsistent with itself. In the early part it gives a statement of numbers as 42,462, nearly agreeing with that in Ezra, but immediately after starts into another narrative, the same in substance as that given in the apocryphal book of Esdras, and totally and palpably erroneous. Instead of placing the restoration under Zerubbabel in the reign of Cyrus, he now places it in the reign of Darius, and although he had just previously given the number of the congregation as 42,462, he now makes it amount to nearly 5,000,000, with the correct number of servants 7337, but with the remarkable addition of another number of 40,742 for the "women and children mixed together." The statement of the 5,000,000 may be an error of the transcribers, for which Josephus should not be considered responsible, and it is possible that he may be correct in enumerating the women and children separately, as it is not inconsistent with the statement in Ezra of the whole congregation, if that is to be understood as consisting of the males

only. In this case the gross amount would give us a total of 90,439 souls returning with Zerubbabel, being the first portion of those who took advantage of the decree of Cyrus, seventy-eight years before the coming of Ezra.

If however this aggregate should not be allowed us as correct, and if the number of 42,360, with the servants 7337, be considered to include the whole number of souls that returned with Zerubbabel, still it is manifest that it is double the number of those whom we can estimate as having been carried away to Babylon at the least, even if we grant that double the number of 10,000 captives mentioned in the book of Kings had been taken away by the Babylonians, while it is ten times greater than the numbers given in Jeremiah as actually carried away. The latter account, as given with so much particularity by one who was evidently a contemporary writer, must be acknowledged to be the most trustworthy, and in that case we cannot suppose the 4600 to have increased to upwards of 42,000 under the circumstances above stated, during the seventy years of their captivity. To reconcile the numbers with probability therefore, we must consider the congregation of 42,360 to include a large portion of the Assyrian captivity also, especially when we remember that other bodies of the captives seem to have been returning from time to time, besides those who came afterwards with Ezra and Nehemiah, who would swell those numbers considerably still further.

We have already observed that in the enumeration of genealogies in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, the several parties of those who returned seem to be mentioned more as with reference to places from which they reckoned their origin than to families, while another portion was found who were not able to show their father's house, or their tribe, and yet were allowed to join the nation as Israelites. But in this enumeration we have also another circumstance worthy of note. Though Ezra and Nehemiah both state the number of the congregation to have been 42,360, yet the former in the particular enumeration of the families or parties returning, respectively gives account of only 29,818 persons, and Nehemiah of 31,031. This makes a discrepancy of one-fourth,

and to explain it, Dean Prideaux says, "The meaning is, they are only the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi that are reckoned by their families in both these places; the rest, being of the other tribes of Israel, are numbered only in the gross sum, and this is that which makes the gross sum so much exceed the particulars in both computations."

There may be another way of explaining the discrepancy by supposing that the three-fourths particularized as having returned, consisted of portions of all the twelve tribes, though principally of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi, and the other fourth of the remnant left in their own land, descendants of those who had not been carried away captive and then present in Jerusalem. But whatever may be the more probable explanation, it is clear from the above passage that Dr. Milman is mistaken in representing Prideaux to have supposed the Israelites of the ten tribes to have been "totally lost and absorbed in the nations among whom they settled." On the contrary, he supposes, as above shown, that a large portion of them returned and became absorbed among their brethren of Judah and Benjamin, though he at the same time concluded that "many more remained in Chaldea, Assyria, and other eastern provinces than those who settled again in Judæa."

It must be with great distrust of his individual opinion that any one may now venture to express a dissent from the conclusions of so eminent an authority; but if the computations above detailed be correct of those taken away captive, and of those who returned, the inference rather seems to be, that a much larger portion returned than what could or would have remained. Still more so when we consider that the numbers of those who returned as above-mentioned with Zerubbabel, must have been vastly increased by those who escaped before or returned afterwards in a desultory manner at different intervals, besides by those who came in a more authorized and systematic manner with Ezra, seventy-eight years after Zerubbabel, or with Nehemiah twelve years after Ezra, or under similar auspices. If we take all these questions into consideration, we cannot come to any other conclusion than that a vast majority of those who had been carried away

captive, or of their descendants, must have returned on the permission given them, to the land of their fathers, and that the numbers that returned must have consisted of members of the ten tribes, as well as of those of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi. Their subsequent conduct also in their own land proved the fulfilment of the prophecies, in their adherence to their law under all circumstances, though this has been the subject of a too customary sarcasm from the historian Gibbon. In contradistinction to the example of their forefathers, who had so often relapsed into idolatry, the restored nation ran rather into the other extreme, until at length they even fell into the errors of an excess of formality and of pharisaical hypocrisy.

Beyond the conclusions, however, that we have to deduce from the positive statements in the sacred history, we may observe that there were several acts of the people, on their return, very significant of their having become an amalgamation or union at least of all the tribes. When the temple was rebuilt under Zerubbabel, which was in the sixth year of Darius, and twentieth after their return, we are told in Ezra, ch. vi. ver. 16, "And the children of Israel, the priests, and the Levites, and the rest of the children of the captivity, kept the dedication of this house with joy. And offered at the dedication 100 bullocks, 200 rams, 400 lambs, and for a sin offering for all Israel, twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel." In this passage, as in several others, the children of the captivity seem to be specifically mentioned, as distinct from others of the congregation who had not shared in the captivity; and the fact of twelve he-goats being sacrificed, according to the number of the twelve tribes of Israel, is the first notice of such a sacrifice, after the separation of the ten tribes from the house of David.

In the same manner Ezra, fifty-eight years afterwards, when he arrived at Jerusalem, and delivered the silver and the gold, and the vessels he brought with him, adds, ch. viii. ver. 35, "Also the children of those that had been carried away, which were come out of the captivity, offered burnt-offerings unto the God of Israel, twelve bullocks for all Israel, ninety and six rams, seventy and seven lambs, twelve he-goats

for a sin offering." This, it must be again observed, was contrary to the former practice of offerings since the revolt of the ten tribes. When Hezekiah offered a similar sacrifice, it is said (2 Chron. xxix. ver. 21), "And they brought seven bullocks, and seven rams, and seven lambs, and seven he-goats for a sin offering for the kingdom, and for the sanctuary, and for Judah." Thus then it seems that the twelve he-goats offered on the first occasion above-mentioned, and twelve bullocks with twelve he-goats on the second, must be understood as signifying the sacrifices to have been offered for the twelve tribes, as represented there at the time. With reference to these offerings, the late Bishop Tomline remarks, "it seems to indicate that some of all the tribes returned from captivity," (*Elements of Christian Theology*, vol. i. p. 214); but we may judge that it indicates more, and that it shows the ten tribes to have been all considered there present, forming one people.

Under the government of Nehemiah, who came to Jerusalem twelve years after Ezra, another assembly of the children of Israel is recorded, "with fasting, and with sack-clothes and earth upon them," but no specification of the sacrifices is given. The prayer, however, then delivered is given at length, and in it we find the following passage, "Now therefore our God, the great, the mighty, and the terrible, who keepest covenant and mercy, let not all the trouble seem little before Thee that hath come upon us, on our kings, on our princes, and on our priests, and on our prophets, and on our fathers, and on all thy people, since the time of the kings of Assyria unto this day." (ch. ix. ver. 32.) Here the mention of "our fathers and all thy people since the time of the kings of Assyria," cannot but be understood as referring to the ten tribes specially, rather than to those of Judah and Benjamin only, inasmuch as the latter suffered comparatively little from the Assyrians, who in fact, under Sennacherib, "returned with shame of face from before them."

If the above considerations fail of ensuring a conviction that the main body of the remnant of all the twelve tribes was understood to be gathered together at Jerusalem as one people, after the return from Babylon under Zerubbabel and

Ezra, according to the prophecies above detailed, still it must be conceded that there is not any ground in all the sacred writings in our canon, for the supposition that any of them ever wandered away into unknown or remote and inaccessible regions. As far as the Old Testament teaches us their later history, our arguments may perhaps be pronounced only matters of inference; but how can the authority of the New Testament be explained away in its more direct declarations of the twelve tribes being then still existing? St. Paul, in his address to king Agrippa, whom he knew "to be expert in all customs and questions among the Jews," reminds him of the "promise unto which our twelve tribes instantly serving God day and night hope to come." (Acts, ch. xxvi. ver. 7.) And St. James, the brother of our Lord, addresses his general epistle "to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad." Had the ten tribes really wandered away into unknown or remote and inaccessible regions, St. Paul could never have subjected himself to be reminded by Agrippa that they were lost, nor would St. James have inscribed his epistle to those who could not be found to receive it.

Such are the proofs and deductions to be drawn from the sacred Scriptures, in correction of the fable to which so many learned men, as well as others on their authority, have given so much undeserved credit. In the Apocryphal writings, with the exception of the dream in Esdras, the innocent cause perhaps of so many fanciful theories respecting the ten tribes, we have no references to them but what are in strict accordance with the preceding statements. The book of Esdras is in a great measure compiled from that of Ezra, beyond which it is utterly worthless as an authority. It however repeats the accounts given in Ezra of the sacrifices and other circumstances already detailed, with one addition worthy of notice. Narrating the preparations made to return to Judæa, it says, "After this were the principal men of the families chosen according to their tribes to go up." (ch. v. ver. 1.) Here the phrase "according to their tribes," seems to convey a larger signification than we can imagine would be implied if there were only two or three tribes returning.

The book of Judith is the only other work in the Apocrypha

to which it is necessary to advert, and it is valuable as showing, that even before the Babylonian captivity, many of those taken away by the Assyrians had already returned (ch. iv. ver. 3), "Now the children of Israel that dwelt in Judæa, heard all that Holofernes had done to the nations; Therefore they were exceedingly afraid, and were troubled for Jerusalem, and for the temple of the Lord their God. For they were newly returned from the captivity, and all the people of Judæa were lately gathered together, and the vessels and the altar and the house were sanctified after the profanation." From this then it appears that the temple, though profaned, had not been yet destroyed, and the mention of their being again sanctified, with other circumstances in the narrative, might lead us to believe the reference to be to the latter years of the long reign of Manasseh. Judith herself was of the tribe of Simeon (ch. ix. ver. 2), as was also her husband (ch. viii. ver. 2), and Ozias, the ruler of her city of Bethulia (ch. vi. ver. 15). This city seems then to have been a possession of the Simeonites, but distinctly from that branch of them already mentioned as remaining in the lands they had taken from the Amalekites, from the time of Hezekiah to that of the compiler of the book of Chronicles. (1 Book, ch. iv. ver. 41-43.) It is of little importance to the argument whether the book of Judith be a mere fable or not. We may even concede it to be very probably only a "religious romance," though Prideaux "was inclined most to think it a true history." But it is undoubtedly a very ancient composition, perhaps written even before the Babylonian captivity, to which it makes no allusion; and the author could scarcely have represented Bethulia to be then inhabited by the Simeonites, unless it had been so in reality.

Turning to other writers besides those of the sacred Scriptures and the Apocrypha, we are not without some further aid to carry on our inquiries. We have already referred to Josephus, as an author held in considerable estimation, though his works, as Dean Prideaux observes, "have in them many great and manifest mistakes," which compel us to receive his statements with great caution. No part of them is so particularly open to this remark as the eleventh book of his

‘Antiquities of the Jews,’ wherein, as Prideaux adds, “he frequently varies from Scripture, from history, and common sense, which manifestly proves it to have been the least considered and the worst digested of all that he hath written.” (Connexion of the Old and New Testament, vol. i. p. 290.) In this eleventh book, so justly stigmatized, Josephus has particularly shown his want of judgment in adopting the fables of the apocryphal book of Esdras respecting the return of the Israelites from their captivity, rather than the narrative in the canonical book of Ezra. Yet even he in so doing has passed over entirely the marvellous dream of the ten tribes going into a “further country where never mankind dwelt, that they might there keep their statutes, which they never kept in their own land.” On the other hand, his testimony, such as it is, directly contradicts it, though it is not otherwise conformable to the arguments we have ventured to sustain. According to his statements, when Esdras, as he terms Ezra, received the epistle of king Xerxes, permitting his return to Jerusalem with the favours granted him, he “sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Media, and when these Jews had understood what piety the king had towards God, and what kindness he had for Ezra, they were all greatly pleased, nay many of them took their effects with them and came to Babylon, as very desirous of going down to Jerusalem; but then the entire body of the people of Israel remained in that country; wherefore there are but two tribes in Asia and Europe subject to the Romans, while the ten tribes are beyond the Euphrates till now, and are an immense multitude, and not to be estimated by numbers.” (Antiquities of the Jews, book xi. ch. v. § 2.) In his ‘History of the Wars of the Jews,’ Josephus represents king Agrippa asking the people, “Does any of you extend his hopes as far as beyond the Euphrates, and suppose that those of your own nation that dwell in Adiabene will come to your assistance? But certainly these will not embarrass themselves with an unjust war, nor, if they will follow such ill advice, will the Parthians permit them so to do, for it is their concern to maintain the truce that is between them and the Romans, and they will be

supposed to break the covenant between them, if any under their government march against the Romans." (Book ii. ch. 16. § 4.)

From these passages it appears, that though in the time of Josephus there was beyond the Euphrates an immense multitude of Israelites, descendants of the ten tribes, as he declares them, yet they were still under the government and control of the Parthians. To the same effect St. Jerome, in the 5th century, as has been also previously stated, says, "Unto this day the ten tribes are subject to the kings of the Parthians; nor has their captivity ever been loosed." And again, "The ten tribes inhabit at this day the cities and mountains of the Medes." These statements are at any rate decisive against the story of those tribes having taken counsel among themselves to leave the multitude of the heathen and go forth into a "further country where never mankind dwelt." But we have further to contend, that both Josephus and St. Jerome were misinformed in these particulars, especially the former, in saying that the main body of the Israelites remained beyond the Euphrates, and that there were in his time only two tribes in Europe and Asia subject to the Romans.

Beyond the supposition of a mistake, however, on this point, we may find in the contents of the 11th book of the 'Antiquities' good reason to conclude, that it has not been handed down to us correctly as Josephus wrote it. Whatever commendations have been passed on him by early writers "as a lover of truth," must be considered as referring to the 'History of the Wars,' of which, as an agent in them on the part of the Romans against his own country, he gave an account agreeable to the Gentile world, such as to merit their approbation. They neither knew nor cared aught about the ancient history of the Jews, and his may justly be pronounced exceedingly fallacious. The most learned of modern critics, Casaubon, Brinch and others (as collected in Havercamp's edition, Ams. 1726), have been unsparing in their censures of it; and even Bayle could not repress his indignation that one professing himself a Jew could bring himself to contradict so explicitly as he does the books of Moses and the other sacred writings of his nation. But the 11th book is not only incon-

sistent with the Scriptural history, but also with itself, for it gives two different accounts of the return of the Israelites from captivity, such as we can scarcely imagine how any person of common discernment could have repeated in one and the same book. Yet Josephus was certainly no ordinary character; and as this charge may be so distinctly alleged against him, we can only charitably account for it by surmising, that the work has been falsified, and is not handed down to us correctly as he wrote it.

In the beginning of this 11th book, Josephus agrees with the sacred narrative given by Ezra as to the return of the Israelites from captivity under Cyrus, but immediately after states that this event took place under Darius, under quite different circumstances. These he then details in almost the same manner as is done in the Apocryphal Esdras, representing that the restoration took place under the favour of the latter monarch, and yet consecutively he returns to the canonical history, in opposition to what he had just stated. He says that the people, having proceeded to rebuild the temple, the rulers of Syria and Phœnicia wrote to Darius, telling him of what was doing in Jerusalem, and, as declared by the "chief doers," by virtue of the decree of Cyrus, not of Darius; that these rulers of Syria and Phœnicia thereupon asked for a search to be made among the records of king Cyrus, and if it were found, that the king should signify his pleasure respecting it. He goes on to say, that king Darius accordingly ordered the search to be made; and having found the decree of Cyrus, he confirmed it, and the building was completed. Now this account, as agreeing with that in the book of Ezra, is not only true, but clear on the face of it as referring to the permission of a former monarch. But if the permission had been given by Darius himself to Zerubbabel, as immediately before detailed, what occasion could there have been for any search among the records of Cyrus, when nothing more was necessary than to refer to the permission of Darius, the reigning monarch, which would have been much more conclusive than the decree of his predecessor? Other inconsistencies and self-contradictions might also be pointed out, but these will suffice to show what little reliance

can be placed on the authority of this 11th book of the 'Jewish Antiquities.' Yet it is in this same book, which bears such internal evidence of having been falsified, that we find the assertion made of the main body of the ten tribes having remained beyond the Euphrates, and of only two being then in Asia or Europe, subject to the Romans.

The 11th book may therefore have been interpolated by some of the same sect or parties as those who composed the fables of the Apocryphal Esdras, and who introduced into it the statement of the ten tribes being still remaining in the lands of their captivity. This appears, therefore, the work of a later age, when the Rabbins, mortified at the non-appearance of their expected Messiah as a temporal prince, denied the application of the prophecies to the events that had occurred, and chose to look on them as yet unfulfilled. They would thus connect the advent of their Messiah with the return of the ten tribes, whose captivity they declared had never been loosed; and though they failed in persuading any others of the Christian writers to assent to their assertions, yet we have seen that they succeeded in drawing St. Jerome into this supposition. But St. Jerome was, more than any other of the Christian fathers, attached to the study of the Hebrew writings; and it cannot, therefore, excite any great astonishment in our minds that he gave it too easy a belief. However much it might suit the views of the rabbinical writers to put forward such opinions, it was not consistent with what the other Christian authorities understood of history, to be so ready to adopt them; and it as little, therefore, becomes us in the present day to receive them as unquestionable.

But whatever might have been the origin of this conception, I trust it has been satisfactorily shown, from the arguments adduced, that the main body of the captives, or of their descendants, must have returned to Jerusalem to become united as one nation with that still larger portion of their brethren who had escaped being carried away. At the time they returned, it is probable that some numbers might have remained behind; and, as Josephus wrote full 600 years after Cyrus, it was only to be expected that the descendants

of even a small portion left behind would, in such a long space of time, and under perhaps favourable circumstances, have become what he might justly call "an immense multitude, not to be estimated by numbers." Still, according to his version of Agrippa's speech, they were under subjection to the Parthians, and were so according to St. Jerome some 400 years afterwards. When, therefore, we find Josephus writing 600 years, and St. Jerome 1000 years after the events under our consideration, we must remember that they wrote under the impressions prevalent in their times, which impressions we have it in our power to correct by more ancient, and, what is the highest, by Scriptural authority.

To controvert this assertion of Josephus, that there were in his time but two tribes subject to the Romans, while the other ten were still beyond the Euphrates, we have another writer to refer to, whose authority cannot be denied by the most strenuous admirer of Josephus, inasmuch as the latter quotes him by name, adopts his statements, and, in fact, gives an exact abridgement of his work. This writer has undoubtedly been pronounced an apocryphal one by some learned persons of later times, whose opinion may be admitted to be correct, without invalidating our argument; though I cannot but think that his interesting narrative may be substantially correct, notwithstanding it may be somewhat overstated. The author to whom I allude is Aristeas, or the person who under that name has left a history of the circumstances attending the translation of the Scriptures known by us as the Septuagint. He professes to have taken a prominent part in effecting it; and, except for the sake of magnifying his own merits, or of gratifying Ptolemy Philadelphus, it would be difficult to guess what motives could have induced him to write it, if it be a falsity. It has been said, that his object was to enhance the character of the translation, as if to represent it as made under divine aid; but this is only a construction given to his narrative from the high estimation in which the translation was afterwards held, and not from any statements of his own; while the objections made to them as false, on account of the enormous payments said to have been made by Ptolemy, may easily be explained as de-

pendent upon the value of the money then in circulation in those countries, of which we really have now no knowledge. This work of Aristeas is still extant, and appears to me to possess intrinsic marks of authenticity. If this opinion be correct, the work must have been written about 250 years before our era; and there is not perhaps another ancient work in whose favour so many corroborative testimonies may be adduced. His story we find referred to by Aristobulus, who flourished in the 125th year a.c., and repeated, with additions, by Philo, who was contemporary with our Saviour. As before mentioned, Josephus himself, towards the end of the first century, agrees entirely with Aristeas, whom he quotes by name, and from whom he gives an account, which is in reality nothing more than an abridgement of his original. Justin Martyr, Eusebius, and a number of other ancient Christian writers, have followed in the same track, adopting his statements implicitly, without any suspicion of their being to be thought fabulous, though some later writers have so discredited them. Whether fabulous or not, our argument will still remain unaffected; but I think it is but due to this author to attempt this vindication of his veracity, impugned upon what may be justly considered assumed and unsatisfactory grounds.

Aristeas states, that Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, being intent on forming a great library at Alexandria, and being desirous of getting all manner of books into it, committed the care of this matter to Demetrius Phalereus, a noble Athenian then living in his court, directing him to procure from all nations whatever books were of note among them. Demetrius, pursuant to these orders, having been informed of the book of the Law of Moses among the Jews, acquainted the king of it, who thereupon signified his pleasure that it should be sent for from Jerusalem, with interpreters to render it into Greek, and ordered what was proper to be done to send to the high priest about it. Accordingly, a letter was written in the king's name to Eleazar, the high priest, and messengers were sent with a large sum of money for sacrifices, and costly presents. On the messengers coming to Jerusalem, they were received with great respect

by the high priest, and all the people of the Jews, and had all readily granted them that they came to ask. Having then received from the high priest a true copy of the Law of Moses, all written in gold letters, and six elders out of every tribe, that is, seventy-two in all, to make a version of it into Greek, they returned with them to Alexandria. On their arrival, the king, having called those elders to his court, made trial of them by seventy-two questions proposed to them, each one in order; and, from the answers they made, approving of their wisdom, he gave them valuable presents, and lodged them in a house in the island of Pharos, adjoining Alexandria. Here, having agreed in the version of each period by common conference together, in the space of seventy-two days they performed the whole work, when, with further rewards, they were all sent home to their own country.

This, in brief, is the history of Aristeas, which may be all or partly fabulous; though, if so, it would be difficult to imagine what could be the object of the author in inventing it. There is every probability of truth in respect of the statement of Ptolemy's anxiety to procure a translation of the Law of Moses for his renowned library, the formation of which has immortalized his memory, and handed down his name in such honourable contrast to every other monarch of antiquity. Some of the details, however, may be fables or exaggerations, though, for the purpose of our argument, it is of no consequence whether the whole story be true or false. If true, it proves that some 277 years B.C. there were the twelve tribes in Judæa, in sufficient numbers to have six elders chosen out of each tribe, sufficiently skilled in the Greek language to be able to translate their law into it from their own Hebrew. If the story be not true, it at least proves that in the estimation of the author, who must have lived and written long before our era, and was probably himself of the Jewish nation, there were the twelve tribes then present in Judæa, and that out of each there might have been six elders chosen, sufficiently skilled in Greek to make the translation.

It has already been stated, that Josephus himself, and a vast number of other writers of the earlier ages, Jewish and Christian, received this history implicitly as true. It did

not occur to any of them that it must have been a manifest imposture, if it were indeed the fact that there were no twelve tribes in Judæa, but only two, and the other ten on the other side of the Euphrates, or wandered away into some further country. This notable discovery was reserved for the learned Scaliger and later writers, who have curiously enough denied the authenticity of the history of Aristeas upon this very ground, that there were only two tribes at the time in Judæa, and the other ten carried away into Media; so that the story of six elders being chosen out of each tribe could not be true. This, however, as we have before contended, was only reasoning upon an assumption, borrowed, without examination, from rabbinical writers, who denied the fulfilment of prophecies that had taken place, and wished to make it be believed that these, with reference to the ten tribes, were yet to be looked for with the advent of their Messiah. But though this might suit the views of the Rabbins, it was contrary to the belief of all the older Christian writers, who, in every reference to the subject, seem to have had no idea of these ten tribes being lost or absent. Thus it is that Hegesippus, the first and most ancient writer of church history, expressly declares, that it was the custom for all the tribes to come up every year to the Passover, and that it was at one of these anniversaries that St. James, the first bishop of that city, suffered martyrdom. This extract from Hegesippus is preserved by Eusebius, book ii. ch. 23, without any dissent from the statement, and he therefore gives the weight of his authority also to the conclusion that there must have been then more than two tribes only present in Judæa; while, as before stated, the fact of so many Christian as well as Jewish writers having copied the history of Aristeas without any expression indicating a doubt of its authenticity, must be accepted as evidences in its favour.

In the time of Josephus, which was nearly 400 years after Aristeas, the twelve tribes had no doubt become so amalgamated as to have no distinctions markedly remaining, and he might thus have been led into the erroneous opinion that there were then only two tribes subject to the Romans. It is even possible that the passage in the 11th book, in which

he makes this assertion, was the interpolation of some later rabbin, inasmuch as it seems to contradict the former part of the same sentence to which it is attached, and at all events it has been shown, that this very book in which it is contained was the "least considered and the worst digested of all he had written." The same remarks apply also in a great measure to the authority of St. Jerome, whose judgment was not in all cases of the most discriminating character; and even he, in referring to the translation of the Septuagint, not only gives his assent to the history of Aristeas, by repeating it, but tells us that he himself, when in Alexandria, had actually seen the ruins of the seventy-two cells, as he calls them, in which the seventy-two translators, sent from Jerusalem, had been lodged by Ptolemy. His evidence, therefore, in favour of the history of Aristeas cannot but be held as invalidating the opinion he elsewhere expressed of the ten tribes being still subject to the Parthians, and inhabiting in his time the cities and mountains of the Medes.

Beyond the statements of authors, however, but in corroboration of Aristeas, we have still another means of judging of the real facts of this question, in the constitution of the chief civil institution of the Jews of later times, the High Court, or Sanhedrim. It is quite unnecessary to repeat here any of the references on the subject which are to be found in the many popular works on Jewish antiquities, so easily accessible to every reader. Without entering, therefore, into the arguments respecting the origin of this court, it will be sufficient to express an opinion, that those writers appear best to be followed who held it to have risen into power in the time of the Maccabees, or within 200 years before our era. The theory of this court was, that it should consist of six elders out of each tribe, except Levi, which only sent four, making seventy in all, conformably to the council which Moses had formed for his assistance; and as Moses or Aaron, who were of the tribe of Levi, had to preside in all matters of importance, so the high priest, or his coadjutor, presided in later times, to give Levi an equal weight with the other tribes. It is most probable, that the course was not strictly followed of having precisely six out of each tribe in the San-

hedrim. But the circumstance of the members being so supposed elected representing the twelve tribes, must be pronounced a convincing proof of their being all considered present in the country from which they might be chosen. Thus they became judges of the whole nation, not of two or three tribes only; and thus St. Peter, when brought before the court, could justly address them as "rulers of the people, and elders of Israel."

In later times, the distinction of tribes and the registration of genealogies grew gradually but completely out of consideration. The sacerdotal race must necessarily be expected to have attended to them the longest; and some individuals may thus, even in the present day, be enabled to declare themselves of the tribe of Levi. The next tribe that seems longest to have kept up their distinctive character was, unfortunately for the advocates of the Afghan theory, that of Simeon. Of this tribe chiefly—as we have direct statements of the Jewish writers themselves, quoted in all the works on the subject—were the Scribes, a numerous and powerful body in the time of our Saviour, comprising the lawyers, copyists, and expounders of the law and other teachers. (Jenning's *Jewish Antiquities*, i. p. 313; Tomline's *Elements*, vol. i. p. 244.) Of the other tribes we have only a few individual notices: Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser, and St. Paul of Benjamin, besides the Levites and Judah. In the present day, no one can show himself to be of the tribe of Judah even, or of Benjamin, which tribes, therefore, have become immersed in the general body as completely as the others.

Having already referred to the interesting work of the American Missionary, Grant, 'Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes,' it will not be out of place here to refer to it in detailing some other conclusions deducible from the foregoing considerations. From the statements in this work, it appears unquestionable that the Nestorians whom he visited were of Israelitish descent, not only from their traditions, their patronymic appellations and general appearance, but, what is much more important in the question, from their language, their rites and institutions, and their peculiar manners and customs

agreeing with those of the professed Jews in their neighbourhood, by whom also they were acknowledged to be of kindred descent. But the excellent missionary has proved too much for his supposition of their being descendants of the Assyrian captives; for, as with regard to the strictness of their accordance with the Mosaic ritual, he forgets that the Assyrian captives had revolted from its observance for many generations previous to the captivity, when, if they had not returned to their own land, they could not possibly be supposed likely to have attained to it again. Many of those stricter observances, also, grew into use only after the return from Babylon, so that the fact of their possessing them is in reality a proof of their being descendants of those who had, after that return, given a stricter obedience to the Mosaic law than their fathers had done.

Again, with regard to their language, which he states to be Syriac, the same as that used by the Jews in their neighbourhood, we must remember that this was the language of Judæa in the time of our Saviour, and we have therefore much more reason from this to conclude, that they are descendants of the Christianized Jews, to whom St. James addressed his Epistle, than descendants of the Israelites taken away by the Assyrians. These, in the course of so many centuries, may certainly be presumed to have adopted the language of their masters, the Medes and Persians, as their brethren in Babylon adopted that of the Chaldees. If these, then, in seventy years, forgot the use of their language, as we know they did, to learn the language of their masters, we must presume that their brethren, who had exceeded them so long in captivity, would have adopted the language of their conquerors also, which language was very different from the one in use in Judæa after the restoration.

We must not forget that the Assyrians, in taking away their captives, took them away not as distinct independent people, but as slaves, whether individually or in families. We cannot suppose that these slaves would ever have been allowed the free exercise of their own institutions, but rather that they would have been compelled to submit to those of their masters. When, therefore, the permission was given by

Cyrus and his successors to all of the race of Israel to return, it was in fact a manumission and a boon of which they would be glad to avail themselves. In proportion as they felt the bondage of the heathen galling in their captivity, they would be anxious to return to their own land. If any of them preferred remaining in the land of their captivity, we may presume it would be from a willingness to succumb to the customs of the heathen, in accordance with the proneness to idolatry they had always shown. In so doing, they would thus, in every succeeding generation, retain less and less knowledge of their ancient law, until at length they became absorbed among the nations with whom they dwelt. They would then become lost in becoming heathens, and so may now be followers of Mahomet, as are the Afghans. This, however, would be inconsistent with the story told in Esdras, of their being disgusted with the practices of the heathen, so as to resolve to go into a further country to avoid them. Those who felt any such desire to return to the pure worship of their fathers, had the best means afforded them to do so by returning to their own land, and not by wandering into unknown regions. We may therefore conclude, from all these motives influencing their conduct, that the great majority of the captives, or of their descendants, actually returned to Judæa, rather than remain in the countries whither they had been led captive.

The different colonies of Jews found in India and other parts of Asia have generally a tradition, that they are descendants of the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judæa, driven away by the Romans. But the very fact of their acknowledging the appellation of Jews, proves that they could not be descendants of the ten tribes, to whom that name could never have been applied. It was only in later times, when all the tribes had become associated together in Judæa, they obtained the general appellation of Jews as inhabitants of that country; and thus their descendants throughout the East may justly continue to hold it as appropriately as do their brethren in Europe. If, however, there be any considerable number of their race in Asia, as has been asserted, who ignorè the name of Jews, and who style themselves Israelites, still this could

not be any solid reason to conclude that they were necessarily descendants of the ten tribes taken away captive. We have shown, that in the time of Ezra the restored people were generally known by the name of Israelites, which name was also in general use in the time of the Maccabees, and even still later, in the time of our Saviour, so that the latest migrations of the nation might have had some families among them acknowledging the name of Israelites only, who would consequently leave that of Jews unknown to their descendants.

Various accounts have been from time to time transmitted us of people existing in different countries, some for instance in Malabar, and some in China, who profess to be Israelites, and who, possessing many Israelitish characteristics, have been thereupon supposed to be descendants of the ten tribes. These accounts however are so vague, that, with every desire to acknowledge the good faith of the narrators, we cannot accept all their statements without more satisfactory evidence than the second-hand reports they have given; especially as many of these reports themselves carry with them a confutation of the conclusions in support of which they are adduced. Some of these people are said to possess copies of the Scriptures, which copies however are not brought forward for due examination, and of which, as we can only judge by conjecture, there may be doubts as to their value. In the reign of Josiah, which was a hundred years after the Assyrian captivity, we know that the Scriptures had become almost lost, so that when a copy had been found by some chance in the temple, it was received with a reverence and dread, showing how much they had been neglected. If this occurrence took place in Jerusalem, in the head-quarters of their religion, how can we suppose that the rebellious idolaters of the ten tribes would have been more careful of their preservation through the centuries of their revolt, and through upwards of 2000 years that have elapsed since they were scattered among the heathen? If the Israelites then did actually possess copies of their law, they would of course also possess them in their original character, which was akin to the Samaritan, and not to the Hebrew, as we now know it. But the Scriptures among these Indian and Chinese Israelites are described as:

Hebrew, and if this be true, and if they really preserve any Jewish ritual or Jewish institutions, or other customs, we may rather conclude them to be descendants of some Jewish colonies or families of much later migration, than descendants of the captives taken away by the Assyrians.

If however no ground could be alleged for suspecting that these scattered families of the Israelitish people must have been necessarily offsets from Judæa, of a date posterior to the restoration, and if stronger grounds could be adduced than we have yet heard, of any of them having arrived at their locations at an earlier period, still the utmost that could even then be allowed in such case is, that they were descendants from some individual families of the ten tribes who had escaped from captivity, but were not substantially representatives of the tribes themselves. We are not informed that they are anywhere to be found in any very considerable numbers; but if they were so found in tenfold proportions to any reported, yet still those numbers would not be so great as might be expected, if only a few families, in the natural increase of population during the 2500 years and upwards that have elapsed since the Assyrian captivity.

The conclusions deducible from the foregoing considerations may finally be summed up in the following recapitulation:—

I. That the numbers of those taken away in the different captivities have been much over-estimated; for that only the principal people were taken as hostages, with the men of war and others most available as slaves.

II. That the main body of the ten tribes cannot be supposed to have been taken away, but left in their ancient possessions, when they became subjected again to the kings of Judah.

III. That the only tribes that can be supposed to have been taken away in any considerable body with regard to their relative numbers, were the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, and that of Naphtali, who being located in the open plains on the north and on the east side of the Jordan, were the first and most exposed to the attacks of their enemies; while the other tribes, living in a

more hilly country, were not so easily overpowered. The above-named tribes also having lived more contiguous to the heathen, probably yielded most to their customs, and thus when taken away among their conquerors, have become most absorbed amongst them.

IV. That the greater part of those who had been taken away to Babylon, or their descendants, and the greater part of the descendants of those taken away by the Assyrians returned to their ancient habitations, as it was their advantage to do so, to become free rather than remain bondsmen in a foreign country ; though as it is probable that the proportion of males carried away far exceeded that of the females, the descendants of the Assyrian captives might not have amounted to so great a number as that of the captives originally.

V. That while in Babylonia, Assyria, and other countries of their conquerors, they cannot be supposed to have lived apart by their tribes, as in their native land ; so that in the course of the 200 years and upwards which elapsed between their captivity and the first year of Cyrus, those taken away by the Assyrians must have lost all distinction of tribes, and become prepared to form part of that restored nation which obtained the name of Jews from the principal tribe among them.

VI. That the tribe of Judah having been the most numerous, and their city of Jerusalem the centre round which the Israelites congregated, it follows as a natural consequence, that their name became the prevailing one for their nation, though composed of different tribes ; the same as the English and other nations have obtained a national appellation from that of the principal people among them, though in fact originally composed of different races.

VII. That the amalgamation, or union into one people, of all the Israelites, was in strict accordance with the predictions of the prophets, declared by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and others ; which predictions, all their subsequent history shows to have been then fulfilled.

VIII. That the remnant of the Israelites left in Babylonia and Assyria, though smaller in number than that portion of them gathered together in Judæa under the favour of Cyrus

and his successors, might yet have increased to an immense multitude in the 600 years which elapsed between the first restoration and the time of Josephus, as their fathers did in the 430 years of their sojourning in Egypt. But that the descendants of that remnant left beyond the Euphrates cannot properly be considered as representing the ten tribes, and much less to have been the entire body of the ten tribes, as Josephus calls them, inasmuch as the principal portion of them had returned to Judæa and become united with that still greater portion of all the tribes which had all along remained in Judæa and the neighbouring districts.

IX. That in the time of Josephus all distinctions of the other tribes having become lost, except those of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi, he erroneously supposed they were the only tribes that had returned, and that the other ten tribes all still remained beyond the Euphrates; for that even if the authority of Josephus were higher than it is, and unquestioned in this part of his book, still we have other weightier evidence to the contrary, and the unexceptionable testimony of Scripture.

X. That in any case the dream of Esdras respecting the ten tribes "having taken counsel among themselves and having gone into a further country where never mankind dwelt," was a mere dream, unsubstantiated by any corroborative consideration whatever, and in fact, as Prideaux says of the eleventh book of Josephus, "contrary to Scripture, to history, and to common sense," with which dream therefore all the theories founded upon it must be classed.

If the above conclusions, and the arguments upon which they are founded, be correct, it follows that the supposition of there being any people now existing as a separate people representing the ten tribes is a groundless hallucination, unworthy of the times in which it has obtained so extensive a credence.

APPENDIX.

I.—ON THE SIX DAYS OF THE CREATION.

THE mistaken translation of the Hebrew word יום as “day” in our version has been peculiarly unfortunate in imbuing the generality of readers with an almost ineradicable impression that the periods of time referred to in the sacred narrative consisted merely of ordinary days, such as we now experience them, of twenty-four hours each. When, therefore, our geologists show us that this globe has evidently passed through a number of mutations, involving many long periods of time previous to its being rendered fit for the habitation of beings constituted as we are, such readers are unable to perceive that the sacred historian actually declared the same fact as occurring in the six periods to which his narrative refers.

Reason on this point would show us, that though the fiat of the Creator might unquestionably have called the whole creation into existence in a moment, as well as in one day or six days, yet that such instantaneous operations are not in accordance with the course of action which the Almighty is pleased to adopt in the ordinance of the world. Our daily experience shows us, that in the smallest items of creation,—in the growth of a shrub or the life of an insect,—a length of time is proportioned to the objects intended; and the slightest reflection would argue, that it was little consistent with the loftiness of Him who inhabiteth eternity, to suppose He would set Himself to the great creation of worlds as if to do a stated task at a stated limit of only a few hours’ duration.

Dr. Buckland, in his “Bridgewater Treatise,” though acknowledging, on the authority of the Hebrew professor Dr. Pusey, that “There is no sound critical or theological objection to the interpretation of the word ‘day’ as meaning a long period of time,” seems as if he could not for one divest himself of the prevailing prejudice on the subject. Thus he suggests, by way of reconciling the error with the fact, that the changes observable in the body of the

earth might perhaps have occurred in the period designated as the "beginning," which he supposes to have been a period altogether prior to the six days of creation, and one that might have extended over millions of years. This concession, however, to a mistaken notion is unworthy of the learned Dean's character as a philosopher, as being in itself totally untenable. The word translated "day" is constantly used throughout the Scriptures as applied to indefinite periods of time (Prideaux, *Connexion*, &c., sub anno A.C. 428), and the clear meaning of the first and second verses of the first chapter of Genesis shows, that the period indicated comprehended part of the first age, or day of the world.

The more scrutinously we look into the exact interpretation of the Hebrew text, the more delighted we find ourselves to observe how beautifully exact was the information conveyed, as suited either to the limited ideas of former times, or the more accurate researches of modern science. Thus, in the original we find it stated, that in the beginning God created not simply "the heavens and the earth," but, as Bellamy has more correctly rendered it, "the substance of the heavens and the substance of the earth." (The Holy Bible, newly translated, by John Bellamy, 1818.) The word **אֶרֶץ**, twice repeated in this verse, should, as he justly argues, be thus translated; and as he had no theory to indulge in with regard to this passage, as he had upon too many other parts of the Mosaic history, there may be the less hesitation in accepting his version of it. It is certain that this word must be similarly interpreted in other parts of the Scriptures; and as in regard to this passage he states he has the authority of the Syriac version, and also of the Paraphrase of Onkelos, both of the highest character, in his favour, there cannot be any reasonable doubt on the subject. The earlier Hebraists not having rightly understood the meaning of the word, have endeavoured to explain it as a sign of the accusative case. This acceptance of it, however, in the present instance, Bellamy controverts, for reasons into which it is unnecessary now to enter; the only object here being, to show the expediency of reading the original Hebrew by the light of modern knowledge, and so learn the wonderful provision made in it to meet the understandings of all ages. The phrase by this light may receive its true meaning, and guide us to the equally significant value of other passages, in which it is passed over by Bellamy himself, as well as in our other versions. The passages more particularly referred to, among others, are those in which it is stated that "God made two great lights;" and again, "God formed man of the dust of the ground." The latter was perhaps paraphrased in the Apo-

crypha, "Thou gavest a body unto Adam without living soul, and didst breathe into him the breath of life, and he was made living before Thee." (2 Esdras, iii. 5.) I presume to think, that the word **רִנָּה** should be more generally considered a substantive word, which, whether necessarily to be translated or not, has nevertheless its substantive signification.

Returning to the consideration of the six periods of the world's mutations, it is interesting to observe how many traces of true history are to be found in the earliest traditions of mankind, in opposition to modern prejudices. The Persians, as Bellamy has stated at length, had a distinct and particular recognition of those six periods; and he might have added, so had the Etruscans also, as we are informed by Suidas (*voce* Tyrrhenia). The latter, as a Lydian colony, were, it may be presumed, a cognate people to the Phœnicians, and these being conterminous to the Israelites on the one side, as the Persians were on the other, may well all be supposed to have derived their traditions from authentic sources, which may so be entitled to be quoted as confirmatory of our argument. Bearing this in mind, we may perceive the beautiful precision of the communication given us by Moses, of the substance, or nucleus of the earth having been created in the "beginning," the first period of its existence. It was then that, floating through space in an uncertain orbit, perhaps as a comet, this globe had, in its several primary states or periods, to have its fluid compounds gathered together in due order, the atmosphere regulated, and the dry land emerged and fitted to produce the rank herb suitable to its condition. It had then to enter on another important stage of the work of creation: to be placed under the influence or attraction of that orb which we now recognize as the centre of our system, beginning then to revolve around it so as to form our days and nights, by periodical evolutions. This, we are informed, was on the fourth æra, or day, of the world; and this consideration alone shows the impossibility of our ordinary days of twenty-four hours, as we call them, being intended in the sacred narrative; inasmuch as these alternations of time only commenced at so late a period of the creation.

The Hebrew text does not state that the greater and lesser lights were then created; but made, or caused, to rule the day and night, "for signs and for seasons, and for days and years." In like manner with our globe, they had no doubt an immeasurable prior existence; but it was then that their present relative courses began to form this planet a part of the system such as we find it. The rank produce of the earth under the anterior period would now

become enriched to a finer vegetation under the genial influence of the sun, and the planet be prepared for the further development of creation of the fifth period. This, as suited to the yet incomplete condition of the earth, at first consisted only of fishes, and birds, and aquatic animals, the last often of great size, as fitted to range over the immense plains and marshes of the new-formed world, until, at a subsequent period, it became gradually fitted to receive creatures of a higher nature or organization, ending finally in the creation of man.

By analogy, then, from the leisurely course pursued with regard to the minutest works of nature under our constant observation, we might have concluded that the great works of creation had not been conducted on any different principle. Surely it is a thought derogatory to the Deity, that this wonderful creation should have been hurried into being as if it were only the work of men's hands, for mere mortal purposes. This consideration alone might have led the translators to reflect, that as large an interpretation ought to be given to the word אֵל in this passage as was found necessary to be given to it in any other part of the Scriptures; and if the mistake cannot be entirely rectified in the present day, some means at least should be adopted to obviate the consequences. If any inconveniences might be supposed to arise from an entire revision being ordered of our version of the Scriptures, some remedy might be found by the insertion in the margins of all future editions of the correct meaning of the original, in the many cases existing where misapprehensions must otherwise continue to prevail. It is certainly much to be lamented, that explanations on such, and so many points should be required; but the necessity is apparent when we find even men of great learning, in works of authority, succumbing to prejudices arising from this and other like misconceptions.

II.—ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WORLD.

Another error which has taken a deep and almost apparently an ineradicable possession of the public mind, is that respecting the age of the world, or rather the period of time that has elapsed since the creation of man. Dr. Buckland, in the work already mentioned, refers to this period as of about 6000 years, in conformity with the common computation found in our version of the Scriptures, and adopted in almost every edition of them, so as to promulgate the error every day more widely. It would be an endless task to enu-

merate the authors who have, even in the present day, repeated this error, notwithstanding the labours of Dr. Hales, Bishop Russell, and others, who have so satisfactorily refuted it. Referring to these eminent writers for a full exposition of the correct dates, it is unnecessary here, in the sequel of this work, to enter into the subject further than to advert to their conclusions. From these it results, that the period which had elapsed between the creation of man and the advent of our Saviour, was of about 5500 years. With these conclusions I presume to differ only so far as to believe that it should have been estimated several centuries longer. Some of the best authorities cited by Bishop Russell, in his excellent work on the "Connection of Sacred and Profane History," such as St. Cyprian, Origen, Ambrose and others (vol. i. p. 113), declare the age of the world at the advent to have been nearer 6000 years. Beyond these, a due consideration of the events narrated in the Mosaic history will show, that the respected chronologists above mentioned have not allowed sufficient time for several important periods; as, for instance, that of the Israelites sojourning in Egypt. For this period they have allowed only 250 years instead of 430, for which they might have reasonably adopted the statements bearing that construction rather than the other. Conformably also with the probabilities of the case, the weight of authority seems to be in favour of the longer period; for we cannot in reason suppose the family of Jacob, consisting of about 150 souls when entering Egypt, to have increased, in less than about 400 years, to the numbers detailed of the twelve tribes at the exode, according to ordinary rules. We have no ground to suppose that their numbers were increased by proselytism or other extraordinary means, so that the slightest consideration of the experience we have of this question will suffice to show which estimate should be adopted. Difficulties may be suggested on both sides; but where authorities differ, we are warranted in adopting the conclusion supported also by the laws of Nature, as most consistent with reason.

These questions, however, are here only incidentally referred to, in exemplification of the assertions made in this work of prevailing errors, which require repeated confutation. Notwithstanding the labours of the learned chronologists above mentioned, the errors they have refuted continue to be repeated in new editions of the Scriptures, so as to render it necessary for every opportunity to be taken of calling for their correction. It is little creditable to this age to have writers, eminent by their position and abilities, assenting so constantly, as we find them doing, to an exploded system of chronology

as if it were unquestionable. But the evil is still greater when we find others, either from ignorance or design, practising on the credulity of their readers, or listeners, with absurd speculations on the approaching termination of the world's existence, on the credit of such a system, and the traditions connected with it. Such practices we find too frequently prevailing, and we cannot too strongly urge their correction.

From analogy, we may certainly recognize the probability of the theory, that as this planet has manifestly undergone many changes, through unknown ages, to fit it for the habitation of different races of beings who have passed over it, so it may yet be destined to undergo others, to fit it for the occupation of a still higher class of beings than ourselves, in accordance also with what is intimated in the Scriptures. At the same time, it is contrary to reason to suppose, that such a consummation could have been ordained to take place in so short a period as has yet been allotted to our race. We may therefore conclude, that many ages may yet elapse before any further change shall occur, as many prophecies have yet to be fulfilled, and much progress to be made towards the perfectibility of our nature. At any rate, the common fallacy of the approaching consummation of all things at the end of the present thousand years, as the completion of the term of 6000 years for which the world has been supposed to have been created, may be denounced as utterly groundless. It was as prevalent at the time of the Apostles as it is in some quarters at present, and perhaps is as far from accomplishment now as it has proved to have been in the interval since then. The dreaded completion of the term of 6000 years of the world's existence has certainly long since passed by, and all present speculations respecting it may be unhesitatingly pronounced to be as futile now as the past have been.

When, however, we find such prepossessions prevailing, we cannot insist too strongly on every means being taken to ensure their correction. This can only be effected by the extension of knowledge, and the freest discussion of every question, which, if honestly entered into, cannot but be conducive to the interests of truth.

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

1855.—No. 11.

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The Rev. E. J. SELWYN in the Chair.

The following Paper was read:—

“The Ancient Languages of France and Spain;” by JAMES KENNEDY, Esq., L.L.B., late Her Majesty’s Judge in the Mixed Court at Havana.

One of the earliest lessons taught us in our boyhood has left it indelibly impressed upon our recollections that ancient Gaul was divided into three parts, differing from each other in language, institutions and laws. Of these three parts, we were then taught that the Belgæ inhabited one, the Aquitani another, and that a people who called themselves Celts, but who by the Romans were called Gauls, inhabited the third. “*Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgæ, aliam Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum linguâ Celtæ, nostrâ Galli appellantur. Hi omnes in linguâ, institutis, legibus inter se differunt.*”

From this commencement of his Commentaries, we might have expected that Cæsar would have next proceeded to inform us in what respects more especially these nations differed from each other. But in this expectation we are left disappointed, as whatever further particulars are given of them respectively, are given incidentally, so that it is from scattered and obscure notices of them only, we are enabled to form any conclusion as to the distinctions between them. True it is

that we have no just reason to complain if we do not find all the precision of a philosophic historian in the narrative of a soldier recounting his exploits, especially as others who were professedly authors, Pliny for instance, and even Strabo, in giving us the same tripartite division of Gaul, enter still less explicitly into these particulars. But as the interest of the question is one more peculiarly of our times, it becomes the more requisite for us, from their omissions, to seek its solution from other considerations,—how far the inhabitants of the countries known to Cæsar as Gaul, may be connected with any people of the same nationalities representing them now.

I am not aware of any writer having entered at length into this inquiry. Yet it is certainly one of much greater interest than the commentators on Cæsar have seemed to attach to it, as they have either passed over the subject altogether, or made such observations upon it as only served to show what little attention they had thought proper to give it. Thus, at length, we find one even accusing Cæsar of an error in the passage above cited, stating that his assertion of the difference of language was “not correct as regards the Belgæ and Celts, who merely spoke two different dialects of the same tongue, the former being of the Cymric, the latter of the Gallic stock. The Aquitani,” it is added, “appear to have spoken a language of Iberian origin.” Such are the views enunciated by the last commentator on Cæsar, Dr. Anthon, who has condensed in his notes the observations of previous writers; and as his edition seems now extensively admitted into our schools, it becomes so much the more important for us to examine the question whether this opinion may be considered correct.

The country occupied by the Belgæ, we are informed, was separated from that of the Celts or Gauls proper, by the Marne and the Seine. It consequently comprised, not only the modern kingdoms of Holland and Belgium, but also Flanders, Picardy, and a small portion of Normandy, with other provinces of modern France to the East. The inhabitants of these districts were the most powerful of all Gaul, as being on the one side the furthest removed from the Roman

territories, they had been the least subjected to the evil consequences of a contact with them, and on the other being nearest to the Germans with whom they were always at war, they had their warlike habits kept in constant exercise. But we learn, moreover, that they were themselves of German origin, having, not long before Cæsar wrote, themselves intruded into their then possessions, after driving out thence the Gauls who were their former occupants. They were, therefore, clearly a different people from the Gauls, as being Germans, and consequently we may conclude that Cæsar was not mistaken respecting them and their language, inasmuch as we may well suppose them to have spoken one kindred to that of the Germans from whom they had sprung, and distinct from either the Cymric or Gaelic. Of that language, however, we have unfortunately scarcely any traces, or indeed any but the scantiest notices of the people themselves, but such as they are, they lead irresistibly to the conclusion which we should in reason deduce from the account of their origin, and from the subsequent history of the country they occupied.

In the earlier ages of the human race, when their numbers were yet few, and the whole world was before them where to choose the most eligible places for habitation, we may have no difficulty in imagining that many families might wander away so widely from their fellow men as to become completely isolated, growing up eventually into nations with languages, institutions, and social habits peculiar to themselves. As they so grew up into nations, the whole course of history shows us that they would become divided into minor sections, into opposite parties and contending factions, bearing upon one another in their own community and pressed upon by other branches of their family, or by other families which had also grown up into nations in like manner in adjacent countries. So long as the world afforded ample room enough for them to have places of refuge where to retire from more powerful parties, it was no great hardship for any weaker tribe to wander on, if thus pushed forward to the furthest confines of the habitable world. But in the course of such events, all

the more eligible situations on the several continents would in no great length of time become occupied and eventually objects of contention, so that as the tide of population pressed on, the weaker parties would be compelled to retire to what would be otherwise ineligible situations, occupied only as the most inaccessible to their enemies.

At the time of Cæsar's conquest of Gaul, we learn that Britain had already become densely populated: "*Hominum est infinita multitudo, creberrimaque ædificia*;" and this must have been occasioned by the pressure of advancing population. At the same time the tribes on the main land who had not been able to cross the seas in search of securer abodes, were obliged to seek protection in such fastnesses as they could find, whether of mountainous districts or others. One tribe in that age amongst the Batavi thus seems to have already settled on the dubious lands since designated as the Low Countries, and given them the character they have ever since held as rescued from the ocean. It must have been the direst necessity alone that could have driven them into such abodes, and into adopting such means as even so early in their history the inhabitants had recourse to in their perilous situation for banking out the sea and constructing their habitations beneath its approaches. Pliny, who wrote so shortly after Cæsar, describes their country in almost the same terms as we might employ in the present day, as a land where the ocean pours in its flood twice a day, and produces a perpetual uncertainty whether it should be considered a part of the continent or of the sea (*Hist. Nat. lib. xvi.*). The whole passage is so graphic as to deserve a full citation:—"Sunt vero in Septemtrione visæ nobis Chaucorum qui majores minoresque appellantur. Vasto ibi meatu bis dierum noctiumque singularum intervallis, effusus in immensum agitur oceanus, æternam operiens rerum naturæ controversiam, dubiumque terræ sit an parte in maris. Illic misera gens tumulos obtinet altos, aut tribunalia structa manibus ad experimenta altissimi æstus, casis ita impositis; navigantibus similes cum integant aquæ circumdata, naufragis vero cum recesserint: fugientesque cum mari pisces circa

tuguria venantur. Non pecudem his habere, non lacte ali ut finitimis, ne cum feris quidem dimicare contigit, omni procul abacto frutice."

Such were the people in that age who, already pushed forward undoubtedly by others, whether to be called Teutonic or Germans, had entrenched themselves in the alluvial shores at the mouth of the Rhine, while others had been driven away to Britain or elsewhere. Some of the frontier tribes had perhaps amalgamated with, or settled down amicably among the neighbouring Gauls, keeping up however their national characteristics, as we find now for instance in the same country, at Brussels, people of different origin and speaking different languages living together. But already the inhabitants of that region seem to have belonged to the first tide of German population, pushed on by others of the same family, who had dispossessed the Gauls, the primitive inhabitants, and seized first the more eligible situations, and afterwards having sections occupying situations less desirable.

Among all nations we may observe that in the bordering districts of their respective countries there is an approximation of dialects, which some writers have imagined to be connecting links in the great social circle of the human race; but which, if they are so in reality, probably only originated from the meeting of different families after long separations, with the increase of population. The word 'races,' as applied to the different families of mankind, has been so misused by some writers, that it seems to me preferable to adopt the latter term only in advocating the theory that different families, as the Celtic, the Teutonic, the Scandinavian, and the Slavonic, having originally grown up into different nations in distant lands with different languages, afterwards approached each other so intimately as to imbibe many of their respective peculiarities, sometimes mingling together in a friendly manner, and sometimes hostilely as conquerors and conquered. The main bodies of the several families might diverge, while branches of them converged so as to become the connecting links between each other. Tribes of outcasts and fugitives or other offsets might be found separating from each principal

trunk and meeting the like of other nations, so as to give rise to a variance of languages, which again would become divided into dialects, all showing more or less the connection originally existing.

Of such a nature seems to have been the mixture of people in Belgic Gaul in the time of Cæsar, which had been going on perhaps for many centuries previously. But the preponderating class then was clearly German, as being the conquerors, so that, according to the statement of Celsus, cited in Oudendorp, they refused to be called Gauls, and were indignant when they heard the name assigned them:—*“Ut jam se Gallos dici nesciant, si audiant indignentur.”* The testimony of Cæsar, both directly and indirectly, in various parts of his Commentaries, and other ancient writers to the same effect, that the Belgians were of German origin, is so express and concurrent, that it becomes a matter of surprise to us to find it disputed. If however doubted by English writers, those of the country itself have no hesitation on the subject, and they seem to be unquestionably in the right. Whatever might have been the earlier divergences in the Teutonic family of nations, that branch of it settled in Belgic Gaul in the time of Cæsar, may well be expected to have retained substantially the language of their ancestors. When the Belgians first dispossessed the Gauls of those districts, they might have found them thinly populated, so that a new language might be easily introduced. But after they became more densely peopled, the language would be less affected by any new inhabitants. In such a case, the language grown up in any well-peopled country clings to it tenaciously. That which was learned in childhood cannot easily be erased from the memory of the adult population, and thus even conquerors have often had to adopt the language of the conquered.

We have no notices left us by which to form any sure conclusion as to the language of Belgic Gaul; but as far back as it can be traced, there seems to be no doubt of its having been nearly, if not entirely, the same as that existing at present, represented by the different dialects of Dutch, Friesic,

Flemish, or Anglo-Saxon. That it did exist there in the time of Cæsar is clear, from the fact that there is no trace of its having been introduced subsequently, and as far as history or tradition reaches, it has always been the language of the country. Having no remnants of it in former times given by any ancient writer, we can only have recourse to the names of places, of rivers, and such like, as then designated, and from these we can positively conclude them to originate from the same language to which their affinities refer at present. The names of towns are the least satisfactory of any, as there may be a doubt of the site of any one in the country. But the names of the rivers recorded by the Roman writers prove them to have then borne substantially the same names as those now in vernacular use. Thus the Rhenus or Rhein, the Scaldis or Scheldt, the Vahalis or Waal, the Mosa or Maese, the Visurgis or Weser, the Amisia or Ems, the Isela or Yssel, the Luppia or Lippe, the Albis or Elbe, the Granna or Gran, are, with scarcely an exception, names which the present inhabitants recognize as proceeding from or connected with their own language, while they present no indications of a Cymric or Gaelic origin. In the same manner we notice the names of some places connecting the former inhabitants with the present, distinct from the supposition of any Celtic origin. The Batavi seem to have left an indubitable trace of their name in Batawe, the Grudii in the Land Von Groede, the Bructeri in Broekmorland, and above all the Frisii, whose name as Freize is yet borne and recognized as their own by so considerable a portion of the people in the country.

Influenced no doubt by some such considerations, the continental writers, as already mentioned, have not hesitated in at once acknowledging the ancient Belgic language and nation to be represented by the people who now occupy their country. Malte Brun says (vol. i. p. 344), "The language of the Friesians never felt the shock caused by migrations. From the time of Cæsar to this very day, among the endless revolutions of nations, they have never changed their name or the place of their residence." In conformity with this also, Dr. Bosworth informs us that the most learned Dutch authors, as

Erasmus, Junius, Dousa, Grotius, Scriverius, and others unite in the opinion of their nation being descended from the Batavi. Grotius asserts "that the ever-succeeding invaders of *Insula Batavorum* were swallowed up in the bulk of the Batavian population, and thus that the present Dutch are the genuine offspring of the Batavi." Dr. Bosworth adds, that "the Friesic, Dutch, and Flemish dialects were originally the same language. The Flemish is so allied to the Dutch, that it may, especially in its earliest forms, be considered the same." (Bosworth's Dictionary, p. xcvi.)

In opposition however to the opinions he had cited, Dr. Bosworth observes, that the Romans had, in the course of their usual policy, drafted away the males from the country to be engaged in foreign wars, and that their place had to be filled up with strangers who he thinks must have varied the character of the people. Granting this in some measure to have been the case, still it may be considered very probable that the new comers were only people of the neighbouring tribes, speaking the same or some cognate language. Or even if they were others, yet it may be a question whether the language of the country could be materially changed unless the women had been taken away also. Cicero well observed, that the language of a country depended on the women, *De Orat.* iii. § 12, as also did Plato before him, *Crat.* § 74, and thus all history shows, that in a densely peopled country the completest conquest scarcely ever changes the language. That is only effected by an extermination of the former inhabitants, or by separating them into small sections in subjection to their masters. Whether the modern Dutch are the genuine descendants of the Batavi or not, is not the question for us to maintain. It will be sufficient for our purpose if it may be conceded that the language now spoken in Holland is the representative of that spoken in Belgic Gaul in the time of Cæsar, making due allowances for the different circumstances of the country at the respective epochs, influenced by the former state of barbarism contrasted with their present civilization.

Proceeding with the same line of argument, in the belief that where a language has once become firmly established in

a fully-peopled country it remains permanently established, purely or recognizable in its derivatives or dialects, except under very peculiar circumstances, we can have little difficulty in next assigning to the nation whom Cæsar terms Celts or Gauls, the language now spoken in Brittany. In maintaining this opinion, the first difficulty we have to encounter is with regard to the name, as the people of that district who call themselves Bretons or Brezonec, do not recognize the name either of Gauls or Celts, the latter being that which, according to Cæsar, they acknowledged. In this, however, the difficulty is perhaps more apparent than real, and may be easily explained by referring to the relationship of what we may here for once call the Celtic nations one to another. This is in accordance with the common acceptance of the term, though there may be some doubt as to its strict correctness; inasmuch as these Celtic nations, generally understood as divided into two principal branches, the Cymric and Gaelic, have languages entirely different from each other in their main characteristics, and in the construction of nouns and verbs, with a reservation to which I shall have afterwards to refer. In other respects they have their vocabularies remarkably similar. Whether therefore they ought to be considered of the same national origin appears to me somewhat questionable, but there can be no dispute of the fact of some very considerable admixture having taken place between them at some period of which we have no record.

That branch of the Celtic nation settled in England acknowledge the name of Cymry, but the Bretons of France ignore it, though their dialect is substantially the same as the Welsh. It follows hence that this nation had been also subdivided into two or more sections, the one in France calling themselves Bretons, who had probably sent colonies into England, to the shores adjacent, while the others, calling themselves Cymry, had had their dwellings elsewhere. Where that locality was we may reasonably conclude, from the account given us of the Belgic Germans having driven away the Gauls from the northern parts of Gaul, when their most obvious course was to take refuge in England, on the shores

opposite. In corroboration of this assumption, we find accordingly, that though driven away from that locality, they still left their name attached to what is yet recognized as the Cimbric Chersonesus (Ptol. ii. c. 2 ; Tac. de Mor. Ger. c. 37) ; and even remnants of their population are said by Welsh writers to be yet traceable among the Wends of the North of Germany. If this be correct, they are probably a tribe of the same people as the Veneti mentioned by Cæsar, as they are said yet to speak a language having an affinity to those of Wales and Brittany, though so long separated from their brethren in those regions as to have adopted a different phraseology, in which the Slavonic element has become predominant. See Pughe's Welsh Dictionary.

In accordance with the same hypothesis, all our best writers on British antiquities, from Camden to the present day, show us that the Cymry evidently once inhabited all the eastern parts of England and Scotland ; and it seems probable that they left their name finally in Cumberland, if not also elsewhere, when afterwards driven into Wales. When they settled upon this emergency in their present abodes, they probably met and amalgamated with their kindred tribes of Bretons, who were in like manner receding before the Saxons. It is certain that some Belgic Germans had also settled in England in the time of Cæsar, bringing with them, according to our argument, a dialect of that language, which was afterwards termed the Anglo-Saxon. But the greater part of the people then inhabiting England came no doubt originally from Gaul, and were of the nation whom Cæsar describes as calling themselves Celts. The appellation of Gauls, which he says the Romans gave them, was one of very extensive application to a great number of tribes in different parts of Europe. Though he restricts the name to comparatively narrow bounds, other ancient writers speak of the Gauls as spread over the northern parts of Italy, as well as over France and Spain, and even Germany. Cæsar not only excludes, as it would seem, the Cisalpine Gauls from his enumeration of this people, but many of the Transalpine, and also those of that part of France designated The Province, while otherwise they appear to have

been considered only cognate tribes. Without seeking to distinguish the notions entertained of them by different writers, it is the purport of this argument to show that Cæsar was correct in declaring those of the centre parts of France to have been distinct from those of the south-western or Aquitani, inasmuch as the former were of the Cymric family, and the latter of the Gaelic.

Originally distinct from each other, these two nations evidently seem to have passed through Europe by different routes, the Gaels through Greece, Italy, and the southern parts of France to Spain, while the Cymry came in a more northerly direction. If such were the case, the first tribes with whom the Romans came in contact were those of the Gaelic branch, whom Cæsar probably knew by their local names rather than by any general one. When these were asked respecting their neighbours and themselves, they would probably then, as their descendants now, return an answer which to Roman ears might be the cause of the confusion. In Gaelic the word *Gall* signifies a foreigner or people generally, and if used by them respecting their neighbours, the inhabitants of mid-France, the Romans would take it as Galli; but applied to themselves, they would probably then, as now, use a word of almost the same sound to strangers, *Gaël*, or as they please to spell it, *Gaoidhiol*. Thus the designation might easily be confounded by the Greek or Roman writers, who would therefore call them all alike Gauls, though the Cymry would be ignorant of the appellation applied to them.

In the same way respecting the term Celtic, which neither the Cymric nor Gaelic people acknowledge; the latter, speaking of the country of either the one or the other, would probably use the word "teach," habitation, thus *Galteach* or *Gaelteach*, whence the Greek and Roman writers could only make out a sound of Galtic or Celtic, and so apply that term to the people as if it were their national appellation. The general derivation of the term, however, is from the Cymric *cellt*, *ceilt*, for covert or shelter, whence *celtiad*, or a dweller in coverts, or inhabitant of the woods; and this might also have given rise to the name applied to themselves, or both, as from

both it would obtain a larger comprehension. But nothing is more confused in ancient history than the application by different writers of the names Gauls or Celts, evidently showing they had no distinct knowledge of the people, and that they used the names only as generic appellations. In a special inquiry as to the Celtic nations generally, it would be an interesting subject to enter into those various notices of the people who are sometimes spoken of as Celts and sometimes as Gauls; but that would lead us far beyond our present object, which is only to distinguish between the several nations of Gaul referred to by Cæsar.

Before proceeding to inquire into the differences between the Aquitani and the Gauls of mid-France, it may be necessary to revert to the difficulty already mentioned in making the discrimination as between the Cymry and the Gael, on account of the great similarity in the names of common objects in their respective languages. Thus then, where this similarity exists, it becomes impossible to refer to the one idiom or the other for the origin of the names of places and rivers, by which in ordinary cases, in the absence of any vocabulary, we might hope to trace their character. A great number of the names of rivers have thus a sound and meaning in common of Cymric and Gaelic origin, and the names of places also, whence it becomes very difficult sometimes to discriminate between them. Yet even here we are not entirely without some means of discrimination, as there are some variations sufficiently marked to guide us in our inquiry. The rivers of modern France, unlike those of Belgic Gaul, now bear names very different from their ancient names, which fact is a proof that the present inhabitants are a different people from those who dwelt there under the Romans. Thus the Marne and the Seine, called formerly *Matrona* and *Sequana*, seem to have in them compounds of the word pronounced *Aon*, both in Cymric and Gaelic, for a river, and the same with several others. On the other hand, several seem to have a reference only to the Cymric. The principal river of France, the Liger, now the Loire, appears to have its name derived from this language. *Llig*, 'what shoots or glides,'

and *aw*, 'water.' The Arar, now the Saone, is described as "a very slow and smooth running river," and Ara, Araf in Cymric, signifies "slow, soft, mild, still." The Atar, now the Adour, and the Duranius or Dordogne, with the Durance and some others, show combinations of the Cymric word *dwr*, 'water,' which though inserted in the dictionaries as Gaelic also, is not however in general use. In like manner several others might be judged to be Cymric, though I do not feel sufficiently decided respecting their probable derivations to claim them as of this language only.

The names of tribes afford less satisfactory means of judging, but a few instances may be found, as in the appellations Morini and Armorica, for the people or province on the sea-coast: the word for sea in Cymric is *mor*, in Gaelic *muir*, whence we may conclude they derived their names from the former language, in which they have a signification of maritime, rather than from the latter. The names of several individuals among the different nations of Gaul are also given, some beginning with Ver or Vir, which may be explained from one language or the other; but as we are not generally informed what the names signified, all etymologies attempted respecting them must partake of the character of surmises only. One name however is defined, that of Vergobretus, as applied to the "chief magistrate" among the Ædui. This people, residing in the southern part of Gaul, according to the theory above set forth, were probably Gaelic, and in accordance with that theory, the chief magistrate or judge, "man for judgment," is clearly traceable in that language, "fear-go-breith," but not in the Cymric. The only other word which Cæsar has repeated is Soldurii, the name given to the band of warriors specially devoted to their chieftain (lib. iii. § 22). This word may be considered common to both the Cymric and Gaelic languages, Sawdior in the former, Saighaidier in the latter, and both pronounced so much like the English word soldier, as to lead me to the conclusion of the latter being taken from one or both of the former, as so many other words have been derived from those sources of which our lexicographers seem to have no knowledge. Thus in the case of

this same word soldier, different derivations have been given, while this early application of it has been entirely overlooked.

We must not however pass over another word, Ambacti, mentioned by Cæsar, without a direct intimation of its being Celtic, but which Festus says was a Gallic word for a hired servant, on the authority of Ennius: *δουλος μισθωτος ως Εννιος*.—Gloss. Ambactus. Cæsar, after speaking of the Druids among the Celts, refers to their Equites, and says, “atque eorum ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos clientesque habet” (lib. vi. § 15). For this word then various derivations have been assigned by Celtic scholars; but passing them by as unsatisfactory, I would suggest, in consonance with our argument, that it should be sought in the Cymric, where accordingly we find still *amaeth*, ‘a husbandman.’ Cæsar, by the context entirely, and by the juxtaposition of *clientes*, clearly referred to the vassals generally of the Celtic nobles, probably as prædial or personal, and with this explanation the modern Cymric word perfectly agrees.

The French language itself is much more Celtic or Cymric than is commonly supposed. Many of its particles can only be properly understood by a reference to those idioms, and it contains many words taken from them. Those idioms, however, the Cymric and Gaelic, entered very largely into the composition of the Latin also; and when we find this the parent of so many existing modern languages, it becomes a somewhat interesting question to inquire how far that circumstance operated in spreading the Latin language itself. Systematic and unscrupulous as was the plan of colonization carried on by the Romans in connexion with their conquests, it may be a question whether they could have succeeded so completely in forcing their language upon different countries unless they had also found there languages with which their own could coalesce. We shall have to refer to a particular instance of this commingling of idioms hereafter, but at present return to what notices are left us of Gallic words, which are unfortunately very few.

Servius, in his Notes on Virgil (lib. ix. v. 743), mentions a circumstance from Cæsar's lost work 'Ephemerides,' that he had on one occasion been made prisoner by the Gauls, and being hurried away by his captors was met by one who knew him, and seeing him in that state called out in an insulting tone, Cæsar! Cæsar! This word, according to Servius, in Gallic signified *dimitte*, and the persons who held him prisoner, mistaking it as an order to release him, allowed him to escape. Dr. Anthon seems to consider this story apocryphal, and Celtic scholars have in vain attempted to find a word like Cæsar equivalent to *dimitte*. But it surely can be no valid reason for doubting the fact, because no such equivalent can be found. It is unreasonable to suppose that Servius would have repeated such a statement unless it had been first given by Cæsar, or that he would have deliberately recorded such an adventure unless it had really occurred, especially when we may remove all difficulty respecting the word used, by understanding it somewhat of Cwsr or Cyswr, which in Cymric are terms of contempt. If those who held Cæsar prisoner understood one of their chiefs to say that he was a worthless captive, they might thus allow him to escape as undeserving of their trouble. This explanation seems to me more reasonable than to pronounce the anecdote apocryphal, and certainly the manner in which the circumstance is recited carries to the mind a full conviction of its truthfulness. "Hoc de historiâ tractatum est: namque Caius Julius Cæsar cum dimicaret in Galliâ et ab hoste raptus equo ejus portaretur armatus, occurrit quidam ex hostibus qui eum nosset et insultans ait Cæsar, Cæsar; quod Gallorum linguâ dimitte significat; et ita factum est ut dimitteretur. Hoc autem ipse Cæsar in Ephemeride suâ dicit, ubi propriam commemorat felicitatem," as he had good right to do.

Having already referred to the names of some rivers in mid-Gaul as deducible from the Cymric, it would be advisable also, if feasible, to point out some of the towns or other places to whose names we might assign a similar origin. Knowing however the ridicule too often justly bestowed on etymologies, for which we have no clue or authority, and

which are founded only on a fancied similarity or aptitude of meaning, I will confine myself to two instances, those of Novidunum and Lugdunum. These I take, not on account of their being more clearly explicable than several others, but because there were so many places called by each name as to indicate their origin from some particular local cause more than others. There were, in fact, three different places apparently of some importance bearing each of these names, and to one of them, Lugdunum, we have an explanation given us. Plutarch, or the author of the Treatise on Rivers, says,—*Μωμορος και Ατεπομαρος υπο Σεσηρονεως της αρχης εκβληθεντες εις τουτον κατα προσταγην τον λοφον πολιν κτισαι θελοντες· των δε θεμελιων ορυσσομενων αιφνιδίως κορακες επιφανεντες και διαπτερυξαμενοι τα περιξ επληρωσαν τα δενδρα. Μωμορος δ' οιωνοσκοπιας εμπειρος υπαρχων την πολιν Λουγδουνον προσηγορευσεν, λουγον γαρ τη σφων διαλεκτω τον κορακα καλουσι, δουνον δε τον εξεχοντα.* From this we learn, that on the foundation of what is now the city of Lyons an augury was taken from a flight of crows, in accordance with which the city was called Lugdunum, for that *loug* or *lougos* in their language signified a crow, and *doun* or *dunum* an eminence. Now it is the case that *dun* in Gaelic, and *din* in Cymric, may be explained as stated, but no word like *lougos* in either at all approaches the appellation of any bird of the crow species. Had there then been only one town in Gaul so designated, we might have supposed that its name had been given from such a cause, and the original word become lost in either language, without being compelled to believe the cause assigned a mistake. But when we find three towns bearing that same name, we cannot possibly believe them all called after any crows, and would rather imagine the author had mistaken his information. He had heard of the augury having been taken, as usual in such cases, and he too hastily concluded that the word *lougy* signified a crow. He had heard that the name was taken from two Gallic words, as *loug* and *doun*, and being correct with regard to the one, might easily fall into an error respecting the other. If it had not been for the direct statement of this author, and consi-

dering the position of the several places, we should have had no difficulty in deducing the name from *llwch* or *loch*, a lake or morass, and the common termination *dun*, signifying together a hill fastness in a lake or morass. Such we know to have been the places of security chosen by the Gauls for their towns or villages, and from such causes they would probably take their names. In the same way with regard to *Novi-dunum*, by which name three other cities were called, together with the usual termination *dun*, we might understand the Cymric *nodfa*, a sanctuary, a place of refuge and protection from their enemies, or even a city of refuge, if Celtic scholars will insist on the Druids having such sanctuaries.

The Druids seem to have been an institution of the Cymric rather than of the Gaelic people, though undoubtedly their tenets had also spread extensively among the latter. Though Cæsar supposed them to have originated in Britain, their remains prove them to have flourished in an equal degree on the western shores of mid-France, as found especially in Brittany in our day. They had not advanced into Belgic Gaul, nor to any extent into Aquitania or Spain, and their deities may thus be understood by the Cymric rather than by the Gaelic language. Thus their god of eloquence, *Ogmios*, whom the Romans assimilated to Mercury, has his title explained by Irish scholars from their *Ogam*, "a secret letter," or "the secret of letters." If I might venture a suggestion, it seems to me better explicable from the Cymric *Ogmi*, from *Og*, "what is apt to open or expand, what moves or stirs, or is full of motion and life," and *mi*, the pronoun, or "what is identic." See the Welsh Dictionaries. *Taranis*, in like manner, is evidently from the Cymric *taran* thunder, *taranu* to thunder, *taranydd* the thunderer. In Gaelic *torrun*.

Suetonius has informed us of another Gallic word which appears to me to have been also unsatisfactorily explained. He says that Cæsar raised a legion in Transalpine Gaul which he named *Alauda*, from a Gallic word, the meaning of which however he has not given. "Ex Transalpinis conscriptam, vocabulo quoque Gallico *Alauda* enim appellabatur" (lib. 1. § 24). Pliny, in a notice of this legion, also refers to this

name *Alauda* as a Gallic word, but seems to connect it at the same time with the Latin name of a bird supposed to be the crested lark, as if from the crest of the helmet worn by the soldiers. “*Paro volucris ex illo galerita appellata quondam postea Gallico vocabulo etiam legioni nomen dederat Alaudæ*” (Hist. Nat. lib. ii. § 37). But Pliny’s etymologies are generally bad, and in this instance, if he has not been misunderstood, it seems absurd to suppose that Cæsar would give such a name to his new legion. Looking at its composition, as raised of foreigners, I would suggest that it was probably taken from the Cymric word *allaid* foreign, to signify, therefore, the foreign legion. The word equivalent to this in Gaelic is *allmharach*.

In connexion with this, though wandering a little from the subject, I venture to suggest an explanation of the name *Alemanni* (*Allemands* in modern French), applied to the Germans, the derivations of which hitherto given seem very unsatisfactory. Without discussing them, however, I should pronounce it left from the Cymry, who might then have termed strangers and foreigners, as they now do, “*Allmaon*,” a foreign people; whence the name might have become applied as a national, though at first it was only a general appellation. In the same manner we may explain the term *Belgæ* applied to the German intruders in the north of Gallia, who seem never to have acknowledged that name, and who, therefore, must have had it applied from some extraneous source. If we consider, then, their relative position to the Cymry, whom they drove from their possessions, we find its meaning in Cymric, where, from the roots *bely* a breaking out, *beli* havoc, devastation, we have *Belgiad*, still signifying a “ravager, or destroyer.” Such was then, evidently, the name applied to their national enemies by the Cymry of old, as their descendants have afterwards, under similar circumstances, spoken of the *Saesonaid*.

Returning to our argument: it is thus our purport to show that the people of Gaul, termed by Cæsar Celts, were of the same nation as the Cymry, which conclusion has been also come to by Thierry and other principal writers of France, though from other considerations. Our next task is to argue

that the southern part of Gaul, or Aquitania, was inhabited by a Gaelic people.

It has already been stated, that though the Cymric and Gaelic languages, judging from their vocabularies merely, were kindred languages, yet in their essential particulars, as in their structure and framework, they are very different. At the same time, I reserved to myself the occasion for an important observation on this point, and it is this: though the Cymric and Gaelic languages are so entirely different in such essential particulars,—as between the natives of Wales on the one hand, and those of Scotland and Ireland on the other,—yet the Breton of the present day is an intermediate one between them, and has many of its inflexions similar to the Gaelic. This is a very suggestive fact in the history of the language, and is such a one as serves well to explain the history of a people, where written records fail us. It has been already pointed out by Professor Duncan Forbes, in his interesting letters on the subject, first addressed to the ‘Gentleman’s Magazine,’ though the cause is still left unexplained how this affinity should exist, after so many centuries have passed since any communication between the several countries could have possibly been had.

The modern Welsh have written records of acknowledged antiquity; and their Triads certainly seem to me entitled to credit. They are consistent with probability, and are free from all those extravagances which are the usual concomitants of fiction. They state expressly, that “the Cymri first settled in this island, and that before them no persons lived therein; but it was full of bears, wolves and bisons.” They state, also, that “they consisted of three tribes, the Cymri, the Lloegrians, and the Brython, who were all of the same primitive race, and were of one language.”—Williams’s ‘Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymri,’ p. 7. We learn further, from the same authority, that “the first came with Hu Gadarn (the mighty), because he would not possess a country and lands by fighting and persecution, but justly and in peace;” which seems to acknowledge, that he had been driven out of some former possession, and sought an uninhabited country for

refuge. With these statements, so consistent with probability in themselves, we find all other authorities to concur. Tacitus says, "In universum tamen æstimanti Gallos vicinum solum occupasse credibile est; eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasione; sermo haud multum diversus." (Vit. Agr. cap. 2.) And the Venerable Bede: "Hæc insula Britones solum a quibus nomen accepit incolas habuit, qui de tractu Armoricano ut fertur Britanniam advecti, australes sibi partes illius vindicarunt." (Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 1.) See Note.

These tribes, then, must have come to the eastern and south-eastern coasts of Britain, whence they would in due course proceed to the interior as their population increased. That such a people did once inhabit those coasts is deducible from the remnants of local names still remaining in England and Scotland. Of the Isle of Wight we find mention in Nennius, cap. 2: "Quam Britones insulam Guied vel Guith quod Latine divortium dici potest." There is no word like this that I can find with the same signification, except the Cymric *Gwaheniaeth*, which, pronounced quickly, has the sound of *Guith*. The names of rivers on those coasts also appear to be Cymric; and the application of the term *Aber* for the mouth of a river, prevalent on the east of Scotland, has been noticed by Professor Newman in his '*Regal Rome*,' as unknown in other parts, where the Gaelic equivalent is *Inver*. While they were thus peopling the island on the one side, the *Silures*, whom Tacitus judged to have come from Spain, and other Gaelic tribes, also probably from Spain originally, were settling on the south-western and western. This will account for the evident traces of a Gaelic people having inhabited Wales previously to the *Cymry*, as Lloyd and other Welsh antiquaries have long since pointed out, and as also Prichard and other writers in our day agree. Thus, even now, "the inhabitants of North and South Wales are clearly two different races. Besides the distinction of dialect, there is a physiological difference" (Jones's '*Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd*,' p. 72). And thus even "the natives of the extreme north and extreme south of Cardiganshire are not always mutually intelligible" (*ib.* p. 44); while the natives

of North and South Wales respectively have dialects almost totally unintelligible to each other.

If, then, under these considerations, we suppose the Cymry to have been originally driven from the north of Gaul into Britain, before the more intimate communications arose that afterwards existed between their brethren in mid-Gaul and the Gael of Aquitania, we may easily account for the Cymric and Gaelic languages in these islands remaining comparatively distinct. But the Cymry in the centre of Gaul, associated more with the Aquitani, became more commingled with them, and adopted many of their inflections for nouns and verbs, as well as many of their primitive words, so as to make the Breton, as before observed, an intermediate language. Hence it happens in the present day, a Welshman and Irishman speaking their vernacular tongues cannot understand one another in the least; but the former can understand the Breton with little difficulty, and the Irishman can understand him also, though with greater difficulty. This circumstance shows there has been a great commingling of the two nations at some former time; and we know historically it cannot have occurred within at least a thousand years, so that occurring so long since, and remaining so distinctly to be noticed, it must have been of the most intimate character. This can only be accounted for by the hypothesis of the two families having lived close to each other in Gaul for a very long period of time; which consideration leads us to the next question, whence we draw this conclusion, that the Aquitani, their neighbours of the South of France, were Gaelic.

The language of the Aquitani is as much a matter of discussion as either of the others. Had we any considerable data respecting any of them from which to deduce a decided opinion, these would necessarily form a part of their history, and not leave us any question for argument as a problem to be solved. As it is, we must be content with what few hints have been afforded us, combined with the probabilities of the case to support our theory. Of Gallic or Celtic words we have many notices in ancient writers to have them identified with the living languages; but the real question is, how

to connect them with any particular part of Gaul. The names of rivers or places here assist us as little, on account of the number of words, as above mentioned, common to both the Cymric and Gaelic languages. Hence it is we find so many of the rivers of the Peninsula, Abono or Avono, the Douro, the Duero, and others apparently of the same common origin. There is, however, one termination connected with different divisions of the country deserving of our notice,—Tan or Tania, common to the Aquitani and many of the tribes of Spain; Lusitani, Laretani, Cosetani, Varetani, Edetani, Contestani, Bastatani, Orretani, Turdetani. This termination seems to have been unknown in mid-Gaul, with the exception, perhaps, of Pliny's 'Britanni,' and it has no meaning in Cymric. But it has a significant meaning in Gaelic, *tan, tana, tania* signifying a district or country; so that Aquitania may thus be understood as the country of the Aqui, whatever might be the origin of that name. This, however, like most national names, must remain a conjecture merely, for the explication of which we have no clue; as that given by Pliny, evidently from the Latin *aquæ*, seems to me altogether unsatisfactory. Of the language of the Aquitani I know of only one word left us, that given by Suetonius, who says that at Tolosa *Bec* signifies the beak of a bird: "Cui Tolosæ nato cognomen in pueritiâ Becco fuerat; id valet gallinacei rostrum" (lib. viii. § 18). This word is Gaelic, not Cymric, where the equivalents are *pig, gylfin, gylfant*; nor is it Basque, in which language the equivalent is *ontzia*.

This is unfortunately only one word to guide us. But even if we could adduce a number of words; the conclusion would be little conformable with the views we have maintained, as we have observed that the Gaelic and Cymric vocabularies have many equivalents in common, while the framework of the two languages proves them to be essentially distinct. Thus, in the modern languages of France and England, their vocabularies might be made to show them to be essentially the same, while the grammars would prove them to be of entirely different origin. Such conclusions, then, are very unphilosophical, as often leading to error; though still, in the

absence of fuller proofs, we may take them as evidences in our favour, so far as they are worth it, to support our assumption, even if they are not considered sufficient to prove them. This assumption is, that the Gaelic tribes having come at different periods from Spain into Ireland, whence a colony of them afterwards went into North Britain under the name of Scots, the language now spoken in Ireland and Scotland, and known as Gaelic, is the representative of that formerly spoken in Aquitania and Spain.

The accurate and judicious Strabo has taken care twice to inform us explicitly, that the Aquitani resembled more the Iberi, or people of Spain, than they did the other Gauls; not in language only, but also in personal appearance: *Τους μὲν Ακυιτανίους τελεως ἐξηλλαγμένους οὐ τῇ γλῶττῃ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σωμασιν ἐμφέρεις Ἰβηρσι μᾶλλον ἢ Γαλαταῖς* (lib. iv. § 1). And again, *Ἀπλῶς γὰρ εἶπεν οἱ Ακυιτανοὶ διαφέρουσι τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ φύλου κατὰ τε τὰς τῶν σωμάτων κατακνὸς καὶ κατὰ τὴν γλῶττην εἰκάσι δὲ μᾶλλον Ἰβηρσιν* (ib. § 2). This being our guide, the next question arising for consideration is, to inquire what was the language of Spain at that period.

In the passage first above cited, Strabo further gives us to understand, that among the Gauls, distinct from the Aquitani, there were several dialects, or slight differences of language. But even without this information, only from the probability arising from what we observe in all countries, we might have judged that such would have been the case. The same with regard to the people of Spain, of the original inhabitants, independently of the various foreigners that had settled there, Greeks, Romans, Phœnicians, Carthaginians, or any others, including the Persians, according to Varro, as cited by Pliny. What people were referred to as Persians, it is unnecessary here to conjecture, as our inquiry is only directed to ascertain the character of that large and warlike body of wandering tribes whom the more civilized nations of antiquity found in Spain, as recorded by their writers. These tribes, spoken of by them under different names, were, as far as we can judge, of the same origin in Spain; though not, as Gibbon has said, all the same as those of Gaul and Britain. When, therefore,

we read of the people of Spain under so many different names as Gauls, Celts, Scythians, or Iberi, with the compounds Celtiberi, or Celto-Scythians, independently of the local names, or those of individual tribes, we must not imagine them to have been of distinct nationalities. Strabo has expressly informed us, that these were all only general terms; and his observations respecting them are deserving of our careful consideration: *φημι γαρ κατα την των αρχαιων Ελληνων δοξαν ωσπερ τα προς Βορραν μερη τα γνωριμα ενι ονοματι Σκυθας εκαλουν η Νομαδας ως Ομηρος υστερον δε και των προς εσπεραν γνωσθεντων Κελτοι και Ιβηρες η συμμικτως Κελτιβηρες και Κελτοσκυθαι προσηγορευοντο υφ' εν ονομα των καθεκαστα εθνων ταττομενων δια την αγνοιαν* (lib. i. cap. 2).

From the above passage we may conclude, that Strabo understood the term Scythians to signify Nomades; and such, literally, seems to be the true meaning of the word, whether applied to the wandering tribes known to the ancients as Scythians, or those known later as Scots, the word Scuite in Gaelic still signifying a wanderer. We have already seen that the word Celt seems to have been applied with the same meaning as a bushranger, or dweller in the woods; and corresponding to these, though certainly a new suggestion, I feel persuaded that the word Iberi had the same signification, and was applied to the same people by the Phœnicians, from whom it came to the Greeks and Romans. The word עֲבָרִי, which we have in our version translated Hebrew, appears originally to have signified one who had no fixed habitation: עֲבָרִים, "inhabitants of the desert, nomades." Thus the phrase in Genesis, ch. xiv. 13, in our version translated "told Abram the Hebrew," is rendered in the Septuagint Αβραμ τῷ περατῇ; and thus also, in other parts of the same version, by other terms of equivalent signification, as *εκβαινοντες* and *διαπορευομενοι*, in the 1st book of Samuel. From this, then, we may judge, that the same general term which had been applied by the Phœnicians to the Israelites, and to the wandering tribes of the country now known as Georgia, had been also applied by them to those they found in Spain, and had come to the Greeks and Romans as a national appellation.

However this may be, it is certain that the name Iberi was applied by Greek and Roman writers to the people inhabiting Spain in their times, and that these Iberi were not any former class of inhabitants, but essentially the same people who were by others of those writers also called Gauls, Celts, Scythians, or Celtiberians.

The Irish histories and traditions are mixed up with so many palpable fictions, that it is impossible for us in reason to rely on them as authorities. Still, so far as they may be received, they show us that the first inhabitants of Ireland came from Spain; and certainly that important branch of them, the Scots, who first gave their name to that island, and afterwards to North Britain, as in the present day. The traditions and histories of Spain on this point coincide with the Irish, and so also do the English (see Nennius, § 13), so that we have both authority and probability in support of our assumption. We have already cited Strabo as noticing the personal resemblance of the Aquitani to the people of Spain; and Tacitus, for the same reason, judged the Silures of Wales to have been of Spanish origin. Such national resemblances are well worthy of remark; and thus, even now, after the lapse of 2000 years, there may be traced an extraordinary similarity of personal appearance between the lower classes of the Irish and those of Galicia in Spain, whence the colonists are said to have proceeded. To that province the Gael left their name, and there the coast is yet designated Brigantina. Thence, also, the slightest observation of the map will show, that any vessel, sailing even at random, would as easily get to Ireland as to the south-western parts of England, where others of their family had no doubt settled in the same manner. This being allowed, the conclusion necessarily follows, that the original colonists took their language with them; and as they have ever since remained a distinct people in Ireland, have thus been able to retain it.

Spain itself was subjected so relentlessly to the systematic colonization of the Romans, that the original inhabitants of the country seem to have been soon completely absorbed in the communities of their conquerors. Thus, then, their lan-

guage seems soon to have become obliterated, so that, even in the earlier periods of the empire, Latin had entirely superseded it. But still some traces of that ancient language are yet to be found in modern Spanish,—words such as *garzon*, a boy; *nada*, nothing; *casaca*, a coat, and a few others, which, having no affinities in Latin, Basque, or Cymric, are purely Gaelic. In like manner other traces are to be found in the pronunciation of a still larger class of words, which appear to have first come to the Latin also from the Gaelic. Thus a thief is not *latro*, but *ladron*, which is Gaelic and Cymric; and the wall of a house, in like manner, is *pared*, not *paries*. *Terra* becomes *tierra*, from the Gaelic *tir*; *planus* is *llano*, pronounced *liano*, Gaelic, *leana*; *plenus* is *lleno*, pronounced *liano*, Gaelic *lianum*; *mel* is *miel*, Gaelic *mil*; *ferrum* is *hierro*, Gaelic *iarrun*, with many others.

Several words, said to have been taken from the ancient Spanish language, have been handed down to us; but they are not easy to be identified with any living language: *briga*, a town; *buteo*, a bird of rapine; *cetra*, a shield; *cusculia*, a kind of oak; *dureta*, a seat in a bath; *falarica*, a kind of spear; *gurdus*, stolidus; *lancia*, a lance; *necy*, a name for the god Mars, and perhaps a few others. Of these *lancia* and *cetra* appear to be certainly Gaelic; *dureta*, from *dwr* or *dur*, may be Gaelic and Cymric; *gurdus* is the same as the Cymric *gordeu*; the others I cannot trace satisfactorily to myself in either of those languages, nor yet in Basque. Perhaps further researches may afford some explication of them, or the statements made respecting them may have been made erroneously, or the words themselves may have become lost in the languages as now remaining.

In conclusion, we have it still left us to consider the question whether the singular language now generally known as the Basque or Biscayan, can be supposed to have been the prevalent language of Spain in the time of Cæsar or Strabo. William Humboldt and many other writers have held that the people speaking it were the original inhabitants of Spain prior to the arrival of the Celts, and that they had probably come from Africa. The modern Basques have also some traditions or

belief to the same effect, maintaining that their ancestors had come direct from the plains of Shinar, at the time of the dispersion under Tubal Cain. In this absurdity they have persuaded several others of the Spanish writers to concur, though Mariana and the most judicious of the Spaniards have dissented from them. On the other hand, M'Culloch in his 'Geographical Dictionary' and Borrow in his 'Bible in Spain,' say that some of the Basques believe themselves to be the remnant of some Phœnician colony. Beyond these assertions, I have never met with any Basque to assent to this supposition, though I have conversed with many intelligent persons of their country on the subject; nor have I found any such suggestion in the principal works written on their language; of which I believe I have nearly all that have ever been published. I have never met with the one purporting to explain the celebrated passage in Plautus, generally considered Phœnician, by means of the Basque language, but feel confident, from the consideration I have given it, that however ingeniously the attempt might have been made, it could not have succeeded in proving any connexion between the Basque and the language of that passage.

It seems to be an opinion almost universally admitted that the Phœnician language was nearly identical with the Hebrew. If this opinion be correct, though wishing to be understood as not altogether agreeing with it, we may positively assert that the Basques cannot be supposed to be any remnant of the Phœnician colonists, as there are very few traces indeed of Hebrew to be found in their language. Still it appears to me very probable that they are the descendants of some colony from the East planted in the districts which they now occupy, the traces of which are clearly to be seen, and are well deserving of being investigated. They certainly give no indications of being descendants of the original inhabitants of the Peninsula. They speak of their neighbours, the French and Spaniards respectively, by appellations merely signifying people of the country, or natives (*Erdederac*); and of themselves as people of their respective provinces, without any trace

of hostile feeling such as might be expected if they had ever in reality been driven from other possessions. They call themselves Euscaldunac, and their language Euscara, totally ignoring the name of Basques, by which they are generally known. On the contrary, they rather understand the term as applicable to other people, the word *basa* in their language signifying a wood, and *basacoa* a dweller in the woods. This term they applied to the people now known as Gascons, who are descendants of people who formerly lived in their neighbourhood, but were afterwards driven into France. These Gascons have no affinity whatever with the Euscaldunac, but an unmistakeable affinity with the Gael, so that the application of the name to them is strictly appropriate, while the reflex of it on the Euscaldunac themselves can only be considered a striking example of the perversity with which national appellations are sometimes conferred.

William Humboldt has further attempted to show that this people had formerly been spread very extensively over Spain, from the names of places that may be explained by means of their language. In this, however, he appears to me overstraining his facts for the sake of his theory, as in reality there are but few such names that can be allowed to be so derived, and those principally on the sea-coasts. In fact the original location of the Basques can scarcely be traced beyond their present limits, the provinces of Biscay, Guipuzcoa, and Alava in Spain, and the sea-coast of France from the Pyrenees to Bayonne. If they ever extended further, it appears to me that it was not in the interior but along the sea-coasts; as further on in Spain there is another Bayona, which is one of the most certain of their appellations, from *ibaya* river, and *ona* good.

There is no nation in the world more remarkable for industry and enterprise than the Basque, combined with such a pure love for their country and their free institutions, while crime seems almost unknown in their provinces. A celebrated modern Spanish writer, Lista, has recorded of them that he resided upwards of three years among them, and

never heard of any offence committed there during that time beyond an assault from motives of jealousy. Thus a brave, frugal, sober and industrious people, spreading themselves over Spain and Spanish colonies, we may decidedly pronounce them to be an increasing rather than a decreasing people. Yet in the present day they are in their native provinces only very few in number,—under half a million of souls altogether. From these considerations, and from their whole history, they appear to me to have increased to that number from some small colony rather than to have decreased from a larger nation. Their history and language, which is quite distinct from any other in the neighbourhood, deserve a much more careful investigation than has yet been given them, and perhaps the former can now only be elucidated by means of the latter. This investigation, however, would require a lengthened inquiry, and is entitled to form the subject of an entirely distinct notice. At present, I content myself with saying that I agree with those of the Spanish writers, Florez and others, who consider them to have been a different people from the Cantabri. These were probably of the same tribe as the Cantii, the primary inhabitants of our county of Kent.

Of the other settlers in Spain it is unnecessary here to speak, as the purport of this essay has been only to discuss the question of the language spoken by the original inhabitants of the country in connexion with the Aquitani. They undoubtedly spoke among themselves, as we are also told they did, a variety of dialects such as we find the case in all countries and all ages. Among the Basques there are seven, and among the Gael and Cymry full as many. This, however, is not inconsistent with our argument, that the ancient inhabitants of Spain were Gaelic, of the same family of people as the Aquitani of France, who were distinct from the inhabitants of what Cæsar calls Celtic Gaul, from the latter being of the Cymric family, while both were distinct from the Belgæ, inasmuch as these were Germans.

Note, p. 20.—I pass over, as inadmissible, the later suppo-

sitions of the Armoricans having come originally from Cornwall when driven away by the Saxons. A few refugees might have then settled there among a kindred people, but we cannot suppose them to have been the first of their family settled in that district.

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